THE

ELECTRICAL



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OFFICIAL JOURNAL

of the

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

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801-800 G. ST. N. W

Washington, D. C., February 11, 1909.

Central Bodies, State Branches, and Organizers:

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS: The Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor, having under consideration the controversy existing in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, appointed a special committee for the purpose of endeavoring to restore harmony in that organization, the special committee consisting of W. A. Sexton, D. S. Fitzgerald, John B. Lennon, R. P. Rubin, and James E. Roach.

After prolonged conference in which the representatives of both sides participated, and were given ample opportunity to state their respective positions, an agreement was reached, signed by the representatives of both sides, and unanimously endorsed by the Denver Convention, as follows:

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT AND STIPULATION ENTERED INTO BY THE OPPOSING FACTIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, IN PURSUANCE OF THE REPORT OF A SPECIAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

FIRST. It is hereby agreed that a convention of all the locals of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shall be called in St. Louis on January 18, 1909. Every local organization in good standing on September 15, 1908, shall be entitled to representation in this convention.

SECOND. The officers of both opposing forces shall submit to the representative of the American Federation of Labor, appointed by President Gompers, a complete list of the organizations in their possession, not later than November 28, 1908. The list of organizations thus submitted shall be considered by both opposing forces as an official roster of the coming convention.

THIRD. It is further agreed that both of the opposing forces will at once notify the local unions of the Internatinal Brotherhood of Electrical Workers their desire that each local respond to the call for the said convention to be held January 18, 1909, incorporating in the same in concise form the action of the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor.

FOURTH. It is further agreed that all suits at law or court processes of any character relating to the affairs of the organization shall be at once withdrawn.

FIFTH. It is further agreed that all necessary and legitimate expenditures of the opposing forces of the organization shall be defrayed by the proper officers, signing warrants and checks in accord with the laws of the International Brotherhood. In case any questions arise relative to the payment of any bill which cannot be adjusted amicably by the fiscal officers, it is agreed that the same shall be referred to the convention of January 18, 1909, for final adjustment.

SIXTH. It is also further agreed that after the convention has been convened and the delegates have been seated in the convention as accredited delegates the rules of the procedure and laws of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shall be taken as authority.

SEVENTH. It is further agreed that all funds now on hand and those hereafter received by either side in this controversy shall be made a special trust fund and placed in a bank in Springfield, Illinois, said bank to be designated by President Gompers. Funds now on deposit drawing interest shall not be transferred to Springfield trust fund until after interest is due and payable.

EIGHTH. It is hereby further agreed that the action of the convention to be held in St. Louis, Mo., January 18, 1909, shall be accepted by both sides to the controversy as final and binding to the end that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shall be maintained in one complete organization.

NINTH. It is also further agreed that the recommendations of the special committee shall be complied with (a copy of which is hereby attached) where not specifically detailed in these stipulations.

TENTH. It is hereby agreed by and between the opposing forces of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers represented by F. J. McNulty, Peter W. Collins, J. J. Reid, J. W. Murphy, F. J. Sullivan and J. E. McCadden, that from this date there shall not be any suits at law or in equity filed by either of the aforesaid opposing forces, for any cause whatsoever, connecting in any manner the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers pending the convention to be held in St. Louis, Mo., January 18, 1909.

ELEVENTH. It is hereby agreed that should the referendum vote be against the holding of the convention on January 18, 1909, a convention will be called at once in accordance with the Constitution of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

(Signed) J. J. Reid,

"H. W. Sherman,

"H. W. Potter,

"H. S. Whalen,

"F. J. Sullivan.

" PETER W. COLLINS,
" S. J. FAY,
" FRANCIS J. SWEEK,
" M. S. CULVER.

(Signed) F. J. McNulty,

Signed November 20, 1908.

WITNESS: M. GRANT HAMILTON.

In the meantime the vote of the members defeated the proposition to hold a convention and this was therefore abandoned.

President Gompers, being unacquainted with the names or the condition of the banks at Springfield, communicated with W. D. Ryan, Delegate from the Miners' to the American Federation of Labor Convention, and secretary of the United Mine Workers of America, whose home is in Springfield, Ill., asking him to suggest the name of a bank. He recommended the Lincoln National Bank, and President Gompers, in accordance with the terms of the agreement, designated the Lincoln National Bank.

Further complying with the terms of the agreement, President Gompers, with the advice of the Executive Council, appointed M. Grant Hamilton to aid in every way as a representative of the American Federation of Labor, to earry the agreement into effect. All of this was without avail by reason of the point-blank refusal of Mr. Reid and his associates, claimants to the Presidency and other offices, respectively, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, to accept the bank designated.

Thereupon Frank J. McNulty and others, claiming to be President and other officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and J. J. Reid, and others, claiming to be president and other officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, appeared before the Executive Council oftheAmerican Federation of Labor at meeting at Washington, D. C., January 11-16, inclusive. Everv was made to bring about an honorable adjustment of the controversy, to reconcile the contending parties, and to heal the breach and division so that one comprehensive International Union of the Electrical Workers might be accomplished.

Mr. McNulty, for himself and his associates, had discontinued all litigation before the courts, had accepted the name of the bank designated for the deposit of the funds, and declared the readiness of himself and associates to do everything within their power to bring about unity.

On the other hand, Mr. J. J. Reid and his associates, stated that they had not discontinued litigation and suits before the courts, that they had begun new suits since the agreement was reached, and that they would not discontinue them as provided by the agreement, and that they would not accept the Lincoln National Bank as designated for the deposit of the funds of the organization. Mr. Reid and his associates repudiated every condition of the agreement voluntarily and solemnly entered into at Denver and ratified by the unanimous vote of the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Therefore, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in the interests of the Electrical Workers, of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and of the general labor movement, decided to and does recognize Mr. Frank J. McNulty as President, Mr. Peter W. Collins as Secretary and Mr. J. E. McCadden as Treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and urges that Electrical Workers' Local Unions recognize Mr. McNulty, Mr. Collins, and Mr. McCadden as such bona fide officers of the Brotherhood and no others until their successors shall be duly elected.

The Executive Council also decided to and urgently requests and appeals to all organized labor of America to recognize Messrs Frank J. McNulty, Peter W. Collins and J. E. McCadden as the bona fide officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and to recognize such local unions only as entitled to full recognition, which are in full affiliation with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of which Messrs. McNulty, Collins and McCadden are President, Secretary and Treasurer, respectively.

By order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

With best wishes, I am,

Fraternally yours,

Attest:

SAM'L GOMPERS,

President American Federation of Labor.

FRANK MORRISON.

Secretary American Federation of Labor.

LABOR AND CONSCIENCE.

BY PROF. EZRA G. GREY.

IN the fitness of things, it seems eminently proper that all true unionists have a quiet consultation with their conscience to decide whether it is or is not to their interest to stand by the cause which betters their industrial conditions, makes them masters of their mind and time and toil and supplies them with requisites that removes the home from among the huts of poverty.

Some have fallen by the wayside, and aided those whose past record is blurred with so many black spots that the white can scarcely be distinguished as possessing even a cheering face to labor's wel-

Some, too, have, under promise and persuasion, preferred, for themselves and associates, official station of uncertain tenure and reward to the confidence and steadfast devotion of a greater number of nobler men who have helped and stood ready to further help maintain and dig-nify labor and labor's friends.

Both have claimed that conscience has

been their prompter.

Well, the lesson of last November developed the power and nobility of organized labor so effectively that, though not complete, twenty-four more months will almost certainly see it in its supremacy, and then the perfidy, treachery and purchasable quality and quantity of recusant regard and desertion of duty will go down to the foot of the class to be dismissed and sent without and far from the school doors of righteous contempt.

With the former, organized labor enters no individual or collective interference: upon the latter it stands as having sustained and dignified labor and made the lure of platitudinous promises of politicians and capitalists a test between honor and duty. Not only this, but it has placed honest labor above the beggary that pleads for a pittance; above the slavish yielding to conditions that keep the eye awake, the mind in worry, the body in pain, and the senses and faculties from that rest and repose which conduce to health, pleasure and the full enjoyment of physical nature.

No true unionist will place himself in a position that will make him feel the qualms or the stings of conscience; and he will not, if he stand by those who are urging forward industrial rights and liberties as against unconstitutional limitations, the oppressions of exacting employers, the tyrannic and despotic absolutism of grasping capitalists and the unscrupulous politicians who believe the workingman is but a tool he can dull or sharpen at his will and for his purpose.

Men and governments have thrown aside conscience to satisfy mad

The false prophets of religambition. ion, the scheming politician, the base assassins of virtue, the iconoclasts that worship money as their god, and the arrant thieves who steal labor from and the labor of the honest toiler, all have an elastic conscience moving a mean ambition to hold the reins over their

fellow beings.

History records the barbarous maintenance of brutal, personal power over and often the suppression of many a cause benefiting humanity, and many of its pages tell of the punishment and death of those who supported and defended such noble undertakings. But the liberal and humane world has, however, looked upon such acts as unjustified. Indeed, such outrages have been and may again be cold, real, earnest incentive to revolution and war, and only have both been prevented by the spirit that prefers national and communicable peace. Nevertheless, that same spirit will persist in believing any law, edict or ruler, person or persons, who enslave or would enslave the mind or burden the physical self or do or permit violence against it or against such a cause, will never be loved or esteemed as generous and wise.

No two persons can compel a third to submit to absolute dominance, unless their power is itself absolute in its validity. This was for a time the view of the ancients of what constituted absolutism, and they enforced it upon the Romans two hundred years before and for a hundred more after Rome became Italy's mistress, and yet they themselves finally saw it was but the mad, black Auster of ambition riding over conscience and destroying the liberty of thought, speech

and action.

Rome fell; other governments have fallen, and others will fall under such absolute despotism. Still, the sad regret obtains that modern desires vie with the ancient view of absolutism, and there are men whose consciences yield to the lure of office and power and turns down the duty they owe their fellow beings at

Organized labor has not escaped this blight. Like the old Romans, the toilers of today are entering in their memorandums the names, the thoughts, the deeds and actions of those who have been of and for and with them, but have thrown their consciences as dainties to satisfy dogs inoculated with the rabies of the rich and ravenous hounds of the crushing, crunching capitalists and paltry paltroons of politics, especially those who seem to neither remember nor care for Abraham Lincoln's immortal admonition, "You can fool all of the people some of

the time, some of the people all of the time, but not all of the people all of the time," and it is in this same voice that the great majority of organized labor speaks to such pliant acrobats. Labor has been fooled once; it has trusted once; it has been deceived once, but it will never be fooled, it will never trust and it will never be deceived again, and that is the silence but the command of its conscience.

Let every union man consult this conscience and ask it in plain, blunt terms

whether he should approve or disapprove the injustice that has been thrown upon him and upon it by forces which menialized his labor and made his life almost that of a servile mendicant.

When he does this, it is more than probable his conscience will say to him:

Be thou true to thy fellowman. If he laboreth with thee to live upon The fruits of honest toil, and sweet Will be thy sleep upon the soft And healthy pillow of a conscience Unburdened by biting remorse.

THE POISON OF THE STREET.

BY FREDERICK S. DICKSON.

[By courtesy of Everybody's Magazine.]

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The author of this article was manager of the Cleveland branch of the defunct stock-exchange firm of A. O. Brown & Co., whose spectacular downfall wrought so much ruin and disaster. A lawyer by profession, he it was, as trustee for the creditors, who steered the great Everett-Moore Syndicate of Cleveland through the sloughs of a seventeen-million dollar bankruptcy back to prosperity. He is president of the Associated Western Yale Clubs, succeeding President-elect Taft. What this man has to tell about the methods of the New York Stock Exchange must be accepted as the truth. You don't speculate, you say; and you cannot conceive how the operations of this New York Stock Exchange affect your livelihood and your business interests. Yet you know that an infinitesimal injury to one of the valves of your heart may paralyze your system. Well, money is the blood of the body politic and Wall Street is its heart. If the New York Stock Exchange, which is the center of the circulation of the nation's wealth, is gangrened, then Your daily bread and butter are in peril. This article is brutal, unflinching, and it concerns you, be you housekeeper, storekeeper, farmer, banker, or professional man.

Panic in Wall Street?" queried Robinson, as he puffed on his pipe during the noon hour. "What's that to us? Just a lot 'o rich gamblers, and what do we care which one loses or how much 'tis?"

This was the view everywhere early in October of 1907, and Robinson was not exceptional. He was making good wages on the new plant being built for the Electric Cable Construction Company, in a busy manufacturing town in Ohio; he had been on the job for months, and there were months of steady work yet in sight. Robinson was not worried, either, when he read in the paper that the banks were issuing clearing-house certificates instead of paying money, for that, too, seemed to

be a rich man's affair. But he was a bit disturbed when, on Saturday night, he and his mates found in their pay envelopes, instead of cash, checks with "payable through the clearing-house" stamped in bold red letters across the face. They wondered whether they could use this queer money for the rent and the store bills.

In the meantime, Robinson's employers were more worried over the condition of affairs than was Robinson, because they knew more and so could see farther. They had financed this extension with the good dividend-paying stocks in which their surplus had been invested, putting them up at the bank as collateral, as money was needed. Since March the value of these stocks had been steadily dropping, and the bank had been calling for more collateral or a reduction of the loan. The company had put up all the securities it could, and still the market fell and the bank increased its demands.

So the directors met, and, facing the loss from all this idle capital, on which interest had to be paid though it could earn nothing, resolved to stop the work until better times; and the following Saturday the men got notice that their services were no longer required. Then Robinson and his friends began to wonder, if, after all, even they had not some little interest in Wall Street. This thought became more insistent when, on going to the savings bank to draw out something on which to live through the hard times, Robinson was told that the bank proposed to take advantage of the sixty days' notice clause, and for that time at least no money would be paid on savings accounts.

Now it is surely worth while to inquire into the methods of Wall Street if its operations can result in the loss of place and income, and the locking up of the savings, of even the humblest workers, in remote corners of our country. If Wall Street can at will decree high prices or low, and with them prosperity or ad-

versity for us all, is it not time that the people should see to it that undue and unrestrained power is not lodged in the hands of a few, that the game they play is a fair one, and that the livelihood of all of us is not imperiled by unfair or gambling methods?

There are two general classes calling themselves stock brokers: irst, the legitimate, or regular stock-exchange men, and second, the illegitimate, or irregular class, known as bucket-shop men.

Let us suppose Mr. Boddlepopster, of Oshkosh, having \$16,000 to invest, goes to Messrs. Kraft & Skent, a legitimate 'stock-exchange house, and orders 100 shares of Union Pacific to be bought for his account at \$160 a share. The order is wired to the main office near the exchange, and from there telephoned to the floor member. If it is an order to buy at the market, or if the price named is within a fraction of the then market, it may be filled promptly and advantageously by the firm's own representative. But if it is away from the market, the floor member is unable to spend time waiting for the marnet to reach the customer's figure, so he turns it over to a specialist in Union Pacific, who puts it on his notebook and fills it when possible and convenient. The specialist receives and convenient. The specialist receives two dollars for his share in this transaction. He may be able to fill the order promptly; but in case the market shows sudden strength and advances immediately an eight or a quarter, the specialist may and often does sell for his own account the stock he has bought for you, and instead of earning a paltry two dollars he makes twelve and a half, twentyfive dollars, or even more. If inquiry is made, he simply says, "That'n wasn't yours. 'Nother'n ahead o' you," and that ends it. How can his statement be questioned?

MORE MONEY IN MARGINS.

Finally, however, the stock may be bought at the customer's bid price, and for this the broker receives a commission of one-eighth, in this case a total of \$12.50, out of which he must pay the specialist two dollars, while from the balance must be deducted charges for bookkeeping, messenger service, phones, telegrams, postage, insurance, and the like, leaving but a trivial balance of profit or even an actual loss.

Let us suppose, however, that the insinuating Mr. Skene is able to persuade Mr. Bodlepopster to buy on margin instead of outright: Sixteen thousand real dollars would be ample margin for sixteen hundred shares, and so, if the stock advances, the customer's profits would be sixteen times as much as they would have been had he used his money to purchase only one hundred shares. Besides, an order of this size would probably be filled

by the floor member of the firm, and so the charges of the specialist would be saved, and the firm, instead of making a gross profit of \$10.50, would receive a net profit of almost \$200, as there would be less cost for bookkeeping, and the charges for messenger service, insurance, and so forth would be wholly eliminated. In such a case Mr. Boddlepopster, in the language of the street, would be "long" of the market, or had he sold he would be called "short."

BUTTON-BUTTON.

The rules of the exchange require an actual purchase of the stock involved in such a transaction from another member of the exchange, and the customer must be given the name of the broker who sells. This rule is invariably obeyed with scrupulous fidelity. But Messrs. Kraft & Skene having bought this stock from Messrs. Welsh, Dodge && Co. for the account of Mr. Boddlepopster, of Oshkosh, what power is there in the New York Stock Exchange to compel Kraft & Skene to keep the stock they have been forced by the rules to buy? Kraft & Skene can immediately sell to Messrs. Faquer & Co. on their own account, on a fictitious account, or on the account of another customer the identical stock that they have bought for the gentleman from Oshkosh. and the governors of the stock exchange will be none the wiser. Indeed, what would be gained if the governors were wiser? Is there any rule of the exchange which forbids a broner to speculate on his own account? Would the exchange prohibit a member from going short of a stock in which his customer was long? How could the exchange, as at present constituted, enforce such a rule if it existed? Messrs. Krait & Skene, Welsh Dodge & Co., Faquer & Co. and all their compeers alike, keep their books as secret as possible, even from their own employes; accounts are run for years with Nos. 1 to 1,000, and only one or two trusties could give a name to any one of them. Never was Richard Canfield more careful to guard from the public the names of his patrons than are the members of the New York Stock Exchange today to conceal the identity of their customers who have margin accounts.

PAYING INTEREST ON NOTHING.

Again, in the course of a single day's business Messrs. Kraft and Skene may buy 5,000 shares of Union Pacific, in lots, for a score of different customers, and may sell for as many others 4,900 shares of the same stock; so if, at the end of the day, the firm could show in its box a hundred shares of Union Pacific, it would be perfectly safe from loss, and no matter which way the market turned it could not lose, but would stand to win commissions, both going and coming, of

\$2,475. And the state tax! If the broker pays it, the customer reimburses him; and if payment is avoided, so much more are the broker's profits. Most brokers do pay this tax most of the time, but the customer always pays it.

Then there is the question of interest, a vital one, it appears, for it is the uniform claim of active brokers that the interest account pays all the running expenses of the office and that the commissions are all velvet. Manifestly, simple interest on the capital of a brokerage firm would pay but a small fraction of the expenses of running an office, and therefore the profits on the interest account must be made either by charging a customer a higher rate of interest than the market rate-or the rate at which the broker is able to borrow-or by charging interest on balances which have only a fictitious existence.

Figure out the case of Kraft & Skene, some of whose customers were long 5,000 shares of Union Pacific, and others short 4,900 shares of the same stock, while the brokers held just 100 shares in their vaults. In this case, the holders of long stock would have paid in, as margin, teapoints, or \$50,000, and the short sales at least five points, or \$24,500—a total of \$74,500. Out of this fund the brokers could have paid \$16,000 for the hundred shares needed to balance accounts, leaving in their hands \$58,500 of their customers' money to do with as they would. In such circumstances they would have charged their customers interest on the total amount of the stock-\$800,000, less the margins—\$50,000, or upon \$750,000, which at six per cent will show a profit of \$125 a day.

On the other hand, suppose they actually carry all this long stock at a cost of three per cent, and yet charge their customers six. In this case their profifs on the interest account would amount to \$62.50 a day, and it is by means such as these that the interest account of a brokerage firm is made to pay the expenses of running the office, while all the time the broker is assuring his customers that he is charging them only actual cost for interest on halances.

cost for interest on balances.

When Welsh, Dodge & Co. sell for the account of Mr. Lamb one hundred shares of Reading, Mr. Lamb naturally wants his money when he delivers his certificate and, if he is a wise lamb, he will insist upon receiving a certified check. Banks, trust companies, and large operators always insist upon certification, and the ordinary run of customers sometimes do, so the broker must be prepared to give certified checks whenever asked. The broker prepares for these demands by an arrangment with his bank whereby he agrees to leave on deposit a certain balance to his credit, say of fifty thousand dollars, and in return the bank may agree

to certify checks to the extent of half a million, or a million dollars, daily, and the broker agrees to deposit the checks to make up for the certification as soon as he receives the amounts due from the customer to whom he in turn has sold the stock.

PERILOUS BANKING.

In practice, this usually works out all right at the end of the day, but all the same the bank does certify that the broker has a balance far in excess of the actual balance, and the bank's funds are in some degree imperiled by this practice. Sometimes the stock has to be delivered to an out-of-town customer, and in that case the broker deposits the certificate of stock with draft attached, addressed to the individual, firm, or corporation that has bought the stock, and the bank receives this draft as cash. Here again the bank runs a risk, for invariably the draft is for the full market value of the stock, plus commissions, and in some cases the broker can and does add an unliquidated balance to the draft and the bank receives the draft without examination or hesitation, though if any figuring had been done the draft would have been shown to be far in excess of the value of the stock attached. Here again the funds of the bank are imperiled by the operations of the broker.

The floor-traders, or specialists, are an important and interesting institution of the stock exchange. Often their only asset is a seat on the exchange, and desk room their only expense. They need no clerk, their bookkeeping is of the simplest, they have no customers save other brokers, and they receive two dollars on every hundred shares of stock that pass through their hands. They may devote themselves to a single stock, or to a group of inactive stocks, and practically all the trading in small lots of their specialties is done through them. can not only absorb odd eighths and quarters now and then, but have still other sources of profit.

For instance, suppose our good friend Mr. Boddlepopster, of Oshkosh, has bought on margin through his brokers, Kraft & Skene, 1,000 shares of an inactive stock like Electric Cable Construction Company, at 85, and suppose this stock has dropped suddenly, as it often does, and unexpectedly, as it always does, to 75. Of course, Kraft & Skene have called for more margin, and as Mr. Boddlepopster turns in his check for \$10,000, the says, "Now, look here, I don't want to put up any more margin; when this is exhausted let her go." Under thesc instructions, Kraft & Skene wire the main office in New York to "sell 1,000 ECX at 65, stop," and the New York men turn this order over to the specialist who is looking after this particular stock. If the stock is an active one, the broker may keep the order in the office until the stock drops to within a point or so of the limit; but in the case of inactive stocks, which are liable to drop five points or so between sales, such a stop order is turned over at once to the specialist, who enters it on his list. Maybe trade is a bit dull, with the last sale at 75 and no bids near the market, and as the specialist runs his eye over his list this is what he may find:

ECX

Buy 200 at 70—Welsh, Dodge & Co. 100 at 69—Faquer & Co. 200 at 68—Long, Short & Matcham. 100 at 67—Crooke, Kirby & Co. 200 at 66—Piker & Plunger. 200 at 65—Ketcham, Best & Quick. Sell 1,000 at 65, Stop—Kraft & Skene.

Just one thousand to be bought and just one thousand to be sold. Why, it's dead easy, and in less time than it takes to tell it the specialist has sold to all these buyers and filled the orders from Boddlepopster's 1.000 shares, which he then buys for himself. And Boddlepopster's face blanches as he watches the ticker out in Oshkosh and sees his pet stock drop point by point on the tape until the fateful "1.000 ECX 65" appears and he realizes that his second ten thousand has gone fading away after the first. What comfort is it to him to see this stock at the very next sale jump up to 70?

MARKED CARDS.

This is the way the trick is worked on an inactive stock, involving a few hundred shares. When it comes to an active stock like Union Pacific, or Reading, or Southern Pacific, a combination of operators is required to accomplish the same thing, in precisely the same way, and with the same result, only with larger states and far larger profits. The operator is like the Irishman roused from his sleep by his wife with, "Michael, there's a burglar in the room."

"I have me oi on him," says Michael, "an' if he foirds anythin' I'll get up an' take it from him."

So the lamb who thinks he can filch money out of Wall Street is permitted to succeed in his operations only until he has enough to make it worth the while for a professional to get up and take it from him. What possible chance has the gambler in such a game as this? Would he play poker with no chance of seeing the cards dealt, or of knowing how many cards his opponents draw, and with more than a suspicion that the cards are Yet he does worse than that marked? when he dea's in stocks on a margin through the New York Stock Exchange. Does he ever realize that the winnings in the game played there depend on his own losses, and that the broker who receives his money on margin knows, not thinks, nor suspects, but knows, that in the end he will inevitably join the great majority before him, who have played and lost?

"If it were not against the rules of the New York Stock Exchange," exclaimed the head of a legitimate brokerage house, "I'd bucket every order I took."

"Do you mean to say that your customers are more likely to be wrong than right in their guesses?" was the surprised

question of Mr. Lamb.

"Sure," was the reply, with an indulgent smile of superior wisdom on the frank, open face of the broker. "A speculator on margin is not only likely to lose, he is sure to lose. Of course, he sometimes wins, gets on the right side of the market, and in a day or two walks off with twenty thousand dollars in his jeans. Do you think he stays away? Not much! That was too easy; and the next time he loses his twenty thousand of winnings and as much more besides as he can raise. Why, this business we're in is pure gambling, and we're not one whit better than Dick Canfield."

NECESSARY NEW PREY.

Remember, please, that the speaker was not a bucket-shop man, nor yet a crank reformer, but the head of a legitimate New York Stock Exchange house, with thousands of customers; and he knew the game from beginning to end. But was he quite just to the memory of Dick Canfield's game? Was Canfield ever suspected of using marked cards, or loaded dice, or fake wheels?

"How many customers have you now?" asked the head of a stock-exchange house of the manager of one of his branches, and on being to!d, he said, "Look after that; you must add new men to your list daily, for the old ones will drop out as soon as they've lost a!l they've got."

The head of still another stock-exchange house declared that their list of customers changed entirely every three years. A telegraph operator who had been with a bucket-shop in a small Ohio town said, "We've closed out there. The boss said we'd got all the loose money in town and it wasn't worth while to keep open any longer." A few days later this man was marking the board in a new office, in a fresh field—and so it goes.

That there must be an essential and marked difference between the methods of the legitimate stock-exchange brokers and those of the bucket shop men, the following inspired paragraph implies:

"The bucket-shop law in New York, which went into effect Tuesday, is an excellent one, as it drives out of business a very pernicious element. Several of the attacks upon Wall Street have been due, in large measure, to the rascally dealings of the bucket-shop interests, and the

brokers on the legitimate exchanges have been made to suffer in the public mind through their nefarious working."

Let us examine the points of difference. In the first place, the bucket-shop man does do a legitimate investment business, just as the stock-exchange house does. He buys, sells, and delivers the certificates, and does it through a stock-exchange member, who fills these orders as promptly and as efficiently as he would do for any other customer.

On a margin order the bucket-shop man does not buy the stock at all, nor does he pretend to, while the stock-exchange man actually does buy the stock, yet may at once sell the same stock for his own account, or for a fictitious account. this is done, then in both cases the broker is in the market against his customer, and all that the customer loses the broker wins.

The bucket-shop man charges no interest, for he makes no pretense of the existence of a debit balance, while the stock-exchange man often charges more interest than he has paid, or charges in-

terest on a balance which has but a fic-

titious existence.

The bucket-shop man uniformly gives his customer the market price, while on odd lots the stock-exchange man almost invariably charges his customer an eighth or a quarter more on a purchase, and gets a fraction on a sale.

The bucket-shop man will take orders on a margin of one or two points. The stock-exchange man demands five or ten.

THE POT AND THE KETTLE.

The bucket-shop man takes margin orders on five shares or even less, while the stock-exchange man refuses to carry less than fifty or one hundred shares on margin.

The customer of a bucket-shop is sold out automatically when his margin is exnausted, while the stock-exchange man strives to induce the customer to increase his margin, and thereby his probable loss

and the broker's possible gain.

The bucket-shop man simply makes a wager with his customer that his client's expectation of the market is wrong, and he pretends to nothing else, while the stock-exchange man invariably pretends to a virtue to which he often has no valid claim.

The bucket-shop man makes money, much money, out of the vanity and folly of his fellows, and herein is the vital point of difference between the two; for the stock-exchange man deems it quite irregular for any one to do this save a member of an accredited exchange. For every dollar lost through a bucket shop a thousand dollars are lost through legitimate stock exchange houses. Even this does not satisfy, for the legitimate one wants that other dollar.

The bucket shop man is almost invariably an old employe of a stock-exchange house, and therefore knows the methods of the street, and when he reads such a paragraph as the one quoted above, assuming a wide difference between the street and the bucket shop, can you blame him if he plaintively asks, "Well, now, don't that beat hell."

The passion for gambling is all pervading, and no class is immune. After many years of arduous toil in China, a missionary returned to this country for a well-earned rest. In some inscrutable way the fever of speculation, of gambling, seized him, and he paid the savings of years over the counters of a legitimate broker, a member of the New York Stock Exchange. His kin remonstrated with him and urged him to shun the markets, but he was deaf to all entreaties.

Finally his wife's brother went to the broker—not a bucket-shop man, mind you—and after telling him with what labor and privation this missionary had accumulated his paltry dollars, and how necessary these savings were to the wife and the little children, he begged the broker, out of mercy to the helpless ones, to refuse to fill the gambling orders of the father. The broker heard his story and then told his visitor coldly that they were in business to do business, and would fill any orders, provided the customer met their requirements as to mar-That was the end of it, and the missionary went on with his gambling until his savings were gone and he was ruined in purse and character.
Is it worth while to multiply inci-

dents? The victims of the street conceal as best they may their loss and their folly from the ken of man, but the truth is known to the wives and children, for their portion is privation and misery. And these homes, where are they? Nay, where are they not? Is there a hamlet in the land too insignificant to pay tribute to Wall Street. Missionaries, draymen, bank clerks, clergymen, farmers, all are drawn into the whirlpool from which none escape uninjured, and in which thousands every year go down to death and destruction. Is it possible that honest Americans will longer tolerate what has long since become intolerable?

A few years ago visitors were admitted to the gallery of the New York Stock Exchange by ticket, easy to get. Today no one is admitted unless a member accompanies him to the gallery and stands by his side while he is there. Members say without hesitation that this precaution is taken for fear that some one might some day toss a bomb from the gallery into the crowd of brokers below. Existing conditions being as they are, who can say that these measures are not

wise?

[CONTINUED NEXT MONTH.]

LINCOLN ==

BY PETER W. COLLINS.

On the 12th of February the Centennial of Abraham Lincoln will be observed by the nation and the people will pay tribute to the memory of one of the great men of history, a man simple in manner, loving of disposition and great of mind and soul.

Lincoln was a man who sprung from the common people, a man who loved liberty and justice and who gave his all for its triumph.

In the recognition of the traits of the man and the deeds that made him so loved by his countrymen there are none who appreciate more the value of his services to the nation and the influence of his character for the common good than the men of labor, for it was Lincoln who said:

"Monarchy is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I would be scarcely justified were I to omit exercising a warning voice against returning despotism

"There is one point to which I ask attention; it is the effort to place capital on equal footing with, if not above labor, in the structure of our government. I bid the laboring people to beware of surrendering a power which they already possess, and which, when surrendered will surely be used to close the door of advancement to such as they, and fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty be lost.

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and never could have existed had not labor previously existed. Labor is much the superior and deserves much the higher consideration."

Showing by such expression the clearness of his mind and the absolute accuracy of his judgment. It was Lincoln who said: "Thank God, we have a system of labor where there can be a strike. Whatever the pressure, there is a bound where the workman can stop." And again it was Lincoln who said: "I am glad to see that a system of labor prevails in New England under which the laborers can strike if they want to. I like the system where a man can quit when he wants to and wish it might prevail everywhere." And again when he said: "I hold that while a man exists it is his duty to improve not only his own condition but to assist in ameliorating the condition of mankind."

Thus it is evident that the great movement of labor can always look to that beacon, that commanding personality of character who fearlessly and openly expressed his convictions that the men of labor, the workers, were entitled to real justice. It was this same Lincoln who declared that while decisions of the Supreme Court were final, decisions as far as the judiciary were concerned their reversal was a matter for the judgment of the people; and in this opinion he but emphasized again the greatness of the man and the breadth and depth of his judgment.

Lincoln lived in a day when deeds were done and when men of character and ability were needed. He met the problems of a trying time in a manner that reflected honor on himself and on the people.

The people in paying this just tribute of respect to the memory of a man of the people are honoring themselves and their country. The great movement of labor and the men of labor never fail to appreciate the services which Lincoln rendered to the cause of humankind and they heartily join with all the people of the land in doing honor to his name.

EDITORIAL.

PETER W. COLLINS.

GETTING RESULTS. The philosophy of how to get results is a far different thing than getting them, and the getting of results is better business than philosophizing on how to get them.

Thus while the dreamer may be doing something of an intangible nature, the doer of things is getting a sure return.

We don't condemn the dreamer as a dreamer—for, like the great Boyle O'Reilly, we believe "the dreamer lives for ever and the toiler dies in a day"—but we do believe in the value of results.

Men may and do give their lives in the service of humankind who are only dreamers, but the measure of the value they bestow is not comparable to that of the men who are the workers, the men who get results.

In our every day experience examples are available for comparison.

We see wasted talent simply wasted from a lack of proper application or by no application—confirmed dreamers.

We see men who might be real men languishing in their dreams who could, with the expenditure of a little energy and application, get results.

Do they try? Yes, sometimes, perfunctorily, but with the conviction that they won't succeed. The conviction that their own powers are inadequate.

These men lack confidence in themselves and they don't get results because of this fact. To be sure they try, but the effort is not sincere, not real actual effort.

Energy wasted is energy lost, and lost energy is a depletion from the stock of the storehouse of possibilities.

Men may be sincere enough in their desire, but desire does not accomplish results. Application, proper application and plenty of it, is what does the work.

Let us be frank in this matter. Let us weigh ourselves intelligently and see if we are not found wanting, see if we don't waste energy that ought to get returns.

Of course we do, and lots of it, and we will continue to do so unless we get out of the rut; unless we determine that if we want results we must go after them.

Let us advise ourselves in this matter frankly and honestly and our conviction will be that getting results is better than dreaming of their accomplishment.

OPPORTUNITY. We often hear men discuss opportunity, and when they do they invariably complain of "a lack of opportunity these days." They speak of it as if it were something connected with the past, as if it once had a real existence but died.

They complain that there is no opportunity now. Perhaps they are right; perhaps opportunity has ceased to be a real thing; perhaps it was merely the incentive of a past age.

What is opportunity? What is there behind that word that gives so many of us the relapse into semi self-satisfaction with ourselves. Our lack of initiative is to us excusable on the ground of lack of opportunity.

Our unprogressiveness is also attributed to the same cause, and in fact lack of opportunity evidently makes talent a drug on the market.

But after all, isn't it true that what we call opportunity is in reality the successful application of common sense and hard work?

Isn't it true that opportunity is as real in the flesh today as it ever was? Isn't it true that men succeed rather not so much by searching for opportunity, but by doing the things that are to be done and labeling those things opportunities?

Isn't it true also that the average of intelligence is as great today as it ever was, and that men do succeed?

To us, at least, it seems that it is not so much a lack of opportunity but rather the lack of application.

PROTECT THE There is an absolute need for immediate legislation in WOMEN WORKERS. every State in the U.S. limiting the hours of women workers to not more than eight hours a day. This need is emphasized more and more each day and a persistent campaign must be made in every State to enact this needed legislation.

We would suggest that every trade unionist give this matter his personal attention; bring it to the attention of his local union and then go out and fight for a limiting of the hours of labor for women.

Bills must be introduced in the legislature of every State in the Union and a persistent and consistent effort made for their enactment into statute law.

It is all very well to sympathize, but actual work is necessary. Interest your friends in the fight. Get the women who are not workers interested and get the women who are workers interested.

A serious proposition confronts this country, and that is whether or not the women workers are to be protected from the greed for profit or are to be made literally cogs of industry, wearing out even quicker than the very cogs in the machinery itself and, as the grind goes on and on, others take their place and go through the same process of elimination; the killing process; the wasted and tired body, the dying of those who might be the future mothers of the nation. This irreparable loss to a great land of peace and plenty must be stopped.

Men must realize now that the time to act is now, and that upon them depends the responsibility. Immediate measures are necessary. Laws must be enacted at once and your work is needed in this fight.

Give it freely and intelligently and join in the demand to your law makers for justice to women workers.

THE WORKER. Owing to delay in reclassification of second-class privileges of the Electrical Worker by the Post Office Department, recent issues of the Electrical Worker have been considerably delayed, and this issue of the Electrical Worker necessitates combining the January and February numbers.

In future issues of the Worker delay in getting same out and forwarding them will be eliminated and each member will receive his copy without delay. It is regretable that such inconvenience should be occasioned, but it is very evident that this delay was not of our choosing and over which we had no control. We hope, therefore, that the members will appreciate the causes of the annoyance of the past and render their assistance and lend their aid and personal effort in the working of continued progress of the Brotherhood.

A SUBSIDIZED Recent history, as well as the events of the past, tend to prove the contention so often made by well advised men that one of the greatest forces for evil in this country today is the subsidized press. There are so many instances where great injury has been done the public through the paid expressions of the seemingly disinterested public organs that the people have in many instances really accepted for its face value specially prepared editorial matter and buncombe compiled for the purpose of misleading the public.

It is safe to say that there are but very few of the metropolitan dailies in the great cities of the country that are not either directly or indirectly under the influence of the great Specialed Interests in this country. Particular instances could be cited, but there are so many in this class of publications that it would seem hardly fair to designate any particular one. It is strikingly evident that these manufactured editorials and special articles for public consumption are an evidence of the gullibility of the American people, and there is no tendency on the part of the people to resent this insult to their intelligence.

The general reader who accepts the opinions of the daily press for law and who bases his own upon them has not added greatly to his influence as a factor for the common good. In fact, he has merely added to the influence of the subsidized press and has made and is making possible a greater aggrandizement of the profits of the special interests of this country.

FEDERAL JUDICIARY.

The people of this country today are beginning to ask themselves whether or not the judiciary is to be governed by the Constitution or whether they are to relegate the Constitution and the fundamental laws to the rear and allow their decisions to replace that document as the basis of American government.

We regret that this latter position seems to be the one that the judiciary has assumed and recent decisions bear out our contention.

We believe, however, that a realization of these facts brought home to the people in the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia will be the means of stamping out this usurpation by the judiciary, and we are convinced that that expression will be emphatic. tution must be obeyed in letter and in spirit even by the Federal Judiciary. We do not recognize the right of the Judiciary, either to amend the Constitution or to suspend it, and we fail to find any power in the Constitution which gives them either right.

RAYMOND ROBINS.

One of the powerful men of this country today and one who is bound to be of great service to the movement of labor in the future is Mr. Raymond Robins of Chicago.

Mr. Robins is known from one end of the country to the other as an able, sincere, and persistent advocate of the principles for which the labor movement stands.

He is a man of exemplary character and high ideals; a man whose training fits him for excellent service in the cause of the workers. His addresses are clear, clean cut and logical and the influence which he is exerting on behalf of the cause of labor is great and lasting.

The impression made by Mr. Robins at the last convention of the A. F. of L. at Denver is one that will not be forgotten by those who had the pleasure of hearing him that day. It is to be hoped that all trade unionists in the country will have the opportunity of hearing Mr. Robins, as he is doing a world of good.

In the retirement from the Presidency of Harvard of **PASSING** Chas. W. Eliot and the ascendancy as head of that institu-OF ELIOT. tion of Lawrence Lowell, a decided and marked change is evident. While all men agree that Dr. Eliot is an able educator and learned man, his peculiar faculty for toadying to the monied friends of Harvard militated against his being held by the people generally as one who was eminently fair in his opinions.

While we concede that Dr. Eliot was one of the greatest educators this country has produced, we do regret the fact that there was not sufficient breadth or toleration in the man to make him the ideal college president. We say this with all due respect to the depth and learning of Professor Eliot, and while we realize that a difference of opinion should never make enemies, even if such opinions are biased and not founded on sound jadgment, we do feel that the influence of the President of Harvard would have been greater and more lasting had he shown a greater appreciation of the rights of his fellow citizens who have not had the opportunities for special training which he enjoyed.

We do believe, however, that Dr. Eliot's influence upon the educational advancement of the country has been marked and his influence great, and we again express our sincere regret that he should have failed to appreciate the depth of the problem of the workers and their fundamental truths.

We hope that in his leisure and retirement he will give to this subject in the future the attention and consideration which he failed to give it while President of Harvard.

EDUCATION. The term industrial education is too often in these days associated in the minds of many people with the relative question of the needs and requirements of industry, and such association to a great degree is responsible for a misunderstanding of the real purport of industrial education.

This confusion is made possible by a lack of appreciation of those supposedly learned believers in the principle of industrial education who meet in congenial association and read eminently learned papers upon this much abused subject.

Fair minded men recognize the necessity for industrial education, but they do not recognize as a paramount purpose of industrial education the adding of any system of education as auxiliary to industry or as a means to make greater the profits of industry.

These men are firmly convinced that the fundamentals in the proposition are the boy, the man, and the State, and the needs of the boy and man and the enhancement of the interests of the State—in the greater diffusion of knowledge and the general good. This is the important issue.

It is to be regretted that the dissemination by false prophets should cast odium upon the issue and make less possible a clearer understanding of industrial education. We are satisfied that when the subject is considered fairly and without bias in its true light a realization of its import will be manifest to all thinking men.

The subject of industrial education is not an abtruse one and therefore there is less reason for real confusion regarding its merits and application, and it is the propaganda of theorists who fail to appreciate the real fundamentals in this issue which makes misapprehension possible. No fair minded man or men could reasonably oppose a practical addition to the knowledge of men, particularly when that knowledge is of such a nature as will add to their personal well being and material progress and prosperity. This subject, therefore, is deserving of careful consideration, fair analysis of all relative questions and practical application in a practical manner by practical men.

THE UNITED

In the present difficulty of the United Hatters of North America for recognition of justice to the principles of true trade unionism, they should receive the united support and financial and moral assistance of the men and women of this country who believe in a square deal. In this issue of the Worker appears the appeal of the United Hatters for financial assistance and it is hoped that the response to this appeal will be immediate. There is, perhaps, no craft in the labor movement which has done greater work for the cause of trade unionism and the advocacy of its principles than the great organization of the Hatters of North America, and this craft in its present difficulty should receive the full support of the trade union movement.

NOTICE—Notice has been received at this office from the American Bonding Co. that bonds issued to J. J. Reid, J. W. Murphy and F. J. Sullivan have been cancelled. This notice can be verified by addressing President American Bonding Co.. Baltimore, Md.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Those who repudiate their written word are indeed the last on earth who should be entrusted with the making of trade agreements, where the written word stands as the Badge of Honor.

The American Federation of Labor's influence for good cannot be minimized by attacks upon it either by the courts or by representatives of a Dual Labor Organization (who went into its convention asking for a hearing, were given a fair hearing and were declared in the wrong; make an agreement and afterwards repudiated that agreement), who, in their most recent publication, condemn the A. F. of L. and accuse the convention and President Gompers of being unfair and the committee fixed. This is in line with their usual methods of attempting to destroy the efficiency of Labor.

FINANCIAL SECRETARY'S NOTES.

THE F. S. shoud report on each sheet the new initiations and where initiation fee is \$5.00, remit \$1.00 to G. O., and where initiation is over \$5.00, remit \$2.00 to G. O.

PLACE names on per capita sheet in alphabetical order, as it assists in easy reference for the F. S. on due sheets.

C HECK all sheets before sending, so that errors will be found and corrected.

BY OUR GRAND PRESIDENT.

We have refrained since the inception of the secession movement in our Brotherhood from making false or unfair statements against any individual or individuals connected therewith for the reason that we know that any gain that is made through misrepresentation and lies is only temporary and cannot last. Knowing that right must prevail sooner or later we contented ourselves by reading the scurrilous and untruthful statements spread throughout the country by circulars and letters under the signatures of several leaders of the secession movement.

They will have you believe your Grand Officers were without bond and are at the present time without bond. Their reason for that statement is very obvious. They know that a Local Union will hesitate in paying its per capita tax to an organization if the officers who handle said money are not bonded.

The truth of the matter is that your officers are now and have always been bonded per the Constitution and at no time during the past twelve months have they been without bonds, and are responsible for every dollar that has been sent to them by our Local Unions

The division in the ranks of the Electrical Workers is regretted by your officers, who have done everything within their power to prevent it and since it has occurred have done everything to heal the breach.

A labor organization prides itself in the fact that it lives up to all agreements it enters into with its employers and whenever an organization violates a bona fide agreement it receives no sympathy from the great American Labor Movement and is condemned by all fair and honest Trade Unionists.

We entered into an agreement in Denver with the representatives of the secessionists, not because we recognized in any way, shape or form that they deserved recognition, but for the reason that the highest tribunal in the American Labor Movement, "The American Federation of Labor," at its convention appointed a committee to hear the contentions of both sides for the purpose of uniting the organized Electrical Workers of the United States and Canada under the banner of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and for the further purpose of having representatives seated in its convention in order that the interests of the rank and file of Electrical Workers could be looked after and protected.

The question of who the officers of a labor organization are is a secondary consideration compared with the interests of the rank and file of its members for the reason that officers will come and go, but the organization is bound to remain.

The Electrical Workers of the country can always find within its ranks men competent to fulfill the duties of the offices necessary to transact their business, and when your officers and the leaders of the secession movement are dead and forgotten, the Electrical Workers of the United States and Canada will still be organized and be still struggling to obtain fair compensation for the labor they perform.

A majority rule is a fundamental principle of all labor organizations. Any act that is done by a vote of a majority is therefore legal and any members or officer of an organization that is not willing or does not obey the vote of the majority is not worthy of holding membership in our Brotherhood.

A vast majority of our Brotherhood was represented by delegates at our Louisville convention and they, in their wisdom, drafted laws to govern our

organization until our membership at large saw fit to change them, either through the referendum or through another convention. These laws were submitted to the referendum vote and a majority of the members, voting, approved of them. Therefore, it became mandatory upon all members, be they officers or not, to abide by those laws unless they were legally changed. Our laws provided ways and means whereby a special convention (if that was desired) could be called; however, our laws did not suit the secessionists and they took the law in their own hands and decided they were greater than the laws and held a rump meeting and launched a dual organization.

True Trade Unionists will differ in their opinions and honestly differ and are to be commended for so doing. It is necessary for the progress of an organization to hear the views of as many of its members as is possible on every and all questions confronting it. The man who differs in opinion with the majority and who in order to see his opinion prevail and his personal interests advanced, starts a secession movement, thereby helping to tear down the work that has taken years of struggle and sacrifice on the part of our membership to create, is not a Trade Unionist in any sense of the word, but a disruptionist pure and simple, and cannot hide very long behind the cloak of Trade Unionism.

The committee appointed by the convention of the American Federation of Labor, after a careful analysis of the contentions made by both sides, made a report on the facts as they found them. Later on a representative of the American Federation of Labor was appointed who brought the representatives of both sides together and witnessed them enter into an agreement, each representative signing his name thereto, which was intended to solidify the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Your representatives carried out their part of that agreement in good faith; adhered to it sincerely, realizing that our Brotherhood should come first, regardless of any personal opinions they might have on any of the questions at issue.

We were chartered by the American Federation of Labor years ago and always looked to that organization for guidance and protection when either became necessary. We always looked upon it as the parent organization of the Labor Movement, recognizing it as supreme at all times. If we did not recognize its authority in the American Labor Movement we would not have paid our per capita tax thereto nor sent our representatives to its annual conventions

The action of the secessionists points to the fact that they too recognized the American Federation of Labor as the highest tribunal in the Labor Movement of the United States and Canada or they would not have sent representatives to the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor and have sought to unseat the delegates of the regular International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. They would not have agreed to the committee, through J. J. Reid, as a fair one when President Gompers (before he appointed the committee) called the writer and J. J. Reid before him and asked them if there were any men on the proposd committee that either of us objected to.

They would not have appeared before said committee and placed their contentions before them nor would they have again opened up the question on the floor of the convention after the committee made its report nor would they have met at the call of the representative of the American Federation of Labor and entered into an agreement for the purpose of putting the findings of the special committee and the convention into effect, nor would they have recognized the American Federation of Labor by appearing before its Ex-

ecutive Council and pleading therewith that no decision be rendered in the case thereby. They must have recognized the American Federation of Labor as the parent organization, I repeat, or they would not have applied to that organization for recognition.

The fourth section of the agreement entered into and signed by the representatives of both sides provided "that all suits at law or court proceedings of any character relating to the affairs of the organization should at once be withdrawn."

Your officers immediately notified their attorneys, while in Denver, to withdraw all suits at law, which was done, and on November 21 we received a telegram, of which the following is a copy, in Denver:

"Springfield, Ill., Nov. 21, 1908.

Peter W. Collins or Francis J. McNulty, Denver, Colo.:

Suit here dismissed in accordance with telegram of November 20th from Collins, Sullivan and Hamilton to us.

(Signed) GRAHAM & GRAHAM."

This telegram was reported to the convention and was made a part of its records. You can find same on page 255 of the proceedings of the Denver convention.

This demonstrated our sincerity in the premises.

Instead of the secessionists abiding by their portion of the agreement they returned to Springfield, and to further complicate affairs, caused the checks that were given to some of our representatives for expenses, to go to protest, which placed us in an embarrassing position in Denver, where we had the checks cashed.

At no time after the agreement was signed was an honest effort made by the secessionists to carry out any part of the agreement.

I will not go any further into the question at this time, as you will receive the American Federation of Labor's representative (M. Grant Hamilton's) report, which will explain it from beginning to end, that will be more satisfactory to our members than hearing it from us, as we are directly interested parties to the countroversy.

Since then the secessionists have resorted to the most cowardly tactics known to mankind. They have circulated lies about men whose honesty and integrity is known from coast to coast and questioned by no honest Trade Unionist; men who have fought the battles of organized labor for years; who have withstood the onslaught of the employers' associations repeatedly and came out of every skirmish with clean hands.

These tactics will avail them nothing, as a true man hates a coward and liar.

They have attacked the honesty of not less a person than the President of the American Federation of Labor, a man who has given up his life for the cause of labor; who has been the target for abuse from the enemies of Organized Labor for the past twenty-eight years. A man who has withstood all temptations and offers made for the purpose of depriving us of his leadership and counsel.

What they hope to accomplish by such methods is beyond our comprehension. Now that we have demonstrated to all members of our Brotherhood and the Labor Movement in general that we were sincere and done everything in our power to put the Denver agreement into effect and failed

through the action of the secessionists in deliberately breaking the agreement in spite of the fact that it was signed by their representatives at Denver, we have prepared a campaign of battle which we intend to start and will be carried out to the end. There will be no more recognition given secessionists in any way, shape or form by your officers. We will, however, not resort to dirty tactics or malign any man's or men's characters by circulating lies about them. We will fight along the lines of Trades Unionism, pure and simple, allowing the secessionists to resort to all other "isms" they want to.

F. J. McNulty, Grand President.

The Grand President has been compelled to be away from the office a great deal in the past. He receives calls continually from all sections of the country.

When he leaves the office he is unable to keep in touch with the details of his office. At the present time the calls for his presence are very numerous. He intends to spend as much time in his office in the future as he possibly can.

Should you write him and fail to receive an answer promptly, remember that he cannot answer your letter until he receives it. If there is any difficulty or trouble in receiving proper attention from any of our officers you will be doing your duty to the organization by reporting same to the Grand President immediately.

If you desire any information on any particular point, write us. We will be pleased to furnish it to you. If you are in doubt as to who are the legal bona fide officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, ask your Central Labor Union or State Federation the question; they will answer it.

All Local Unions who have not already done so should immediately become affiliated with their respective central bodies and State Federation of Labor.

Such affiliations are beneficial in every way to our members.

It is indeed bad grace for a Local Union to remain outside of its Central Body or State Federation until such time as it gets into a difficulty and then go knocking at the door for admission.

Do it in time of peace and you will not regret it.

JOKE NUMBER 48761.

"Notice is hereby given that F. J. McNulty, P. W. Collins and others are hereby representing themselves as officers of the Brotherhood, contracting debts which they refuse to pay, and causing collectors to call daily on us for settlements. No contracts made by them or their delegates will be recognized by this office."

J. W. Murphy, General Secretary. F. J. Sullivan, General Treasurer.

The Jokers.

Despite the fact that the dual organization tried to tie up all our funds in Springfield, we have met all obligations promptly and do not owe any one a dollar, and what is more, we will not owe any one a dollar in the future. as we have a very nice surplus and are adding thereto daily.—Editor.

EDITOR ELECTRICAL WORKER:

Brother Robert E. Saunders' card, No. 42253, was lost or stolen from job in Hoboken, N. J., on or about last September. All brothers and Local Unions are requested to look out for same and should they find it, should return same to William P. Cleary, 368 York St., Jersey City, N. J.

If your District Council is recognizing the secessionists, notify this office immediately.

We are sorry to inform you that Brother M. Grant Hamilton, Organizer of the American Federation of Labor, was stricken with bronchial pneumonia and confined to his home for some weeks. We are pleased to announce that he is now fully recovered and is at his work again.

Members of Local Unions recognizing the secessionists desiring to continue their membership in our Brotherhood, can do so by sending their per capita tax to this office until such time as a Local Union of our Brotherhood is organized in your city.

The secessionists are still issuing malicious and lying circulars reflecting upon the honesty and integrity of every one of your officers as well as the officers of the American Federation of Labor. All we ask is that each Local Union seek the truth.

The truth can be found if it is desired. Don't allow your membership to lapse in our Brotherhood. If your Local Union has paid per capita tax to the secessionists, stop it until you ascertain the truth.

Notice.—Building Trades Department A. F. of L. unanimously endorse decision of A. F. of L. recognizing our officers as I. B. E. W.

EXPERIENCE.

It was the last of nineteen six, Jobs were scarce and men were thick; I got a place one lucky day With the Western Union Company.

From Los Angeles to Albuquerque Is quite a stretch and lots of work To string a wire o'er hill and dale, With an early breakfast and a dinner pail.

We started out at "pronto" seven,
Were down the line ten miles by 'leven—
Up and down and holler "tie"
Till our legs were sore and our lungs were
dry.

Ten big hikers, fat and fair, Started on that job out there; The job it was to last three months; I think it wound up with three grunts. Every day the same old story— We pumped the car through all our glory; The cogs beneath, they seemed to say: "Work, ye terriers, for small pay."

On the grub we couldn't kick, But on the hours, they were too thick; From seven till the sun went down, And maybe then steen miles from town.

You will find it a rarity That linemen stand prosperity; So on one bright sunshiny day Ten worn-out hikers drew their pay.

Some went here, and some went there; I suppose by now they're everywhere; So let the moral be to you: Get work outside the W. U.

(TIP) D. N. REYNOLDS, Local No. 477.



Official Journal of the

INTERNATIONAL

Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
Published Monthly.

PETER W. COLLINS, Editor.

Pierik Building, Springfield, Illinois.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., JAN. & FEB., 1909

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS.

Grand President-F. J. McNULTY,
Pierik Building, Springfield, Illinois.

Grand Secretary—PETER W. COLLINS,
Pierik Building, Springfield, Illinois.

Grand Treasurer-J. E. McCADDEN, 391 Herkimer St., Buffalo, N. Y.

GRAND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

First G. V. P.-E. G. SMITH, General Delivery, Detroit, Mich. Second G. V. P.-JAMES P. NOONAN, 1806 McCausland Ave., E. St. Louis, Ill.

Third G. V. P.—CHAS. H. McCONAUGHY, 4106 16th St, San Francisco, Cal.

GRAND EXECUTIVE BOARD.

First District—GEO. C. KING, 179 Waverly St., Buffalo, N. Y. Second District—JOHN J. McLAUGHLIN, 39 White St., E. Boston, Mass.

Third District-WM. S. GODSHALL, 5415 Osage Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

Feurth District—JOHN E. O'CONNOR, 626 E. 23d St., Paterson, N. J. Sixth District—FRANK SWOR, Ft. Worth, Texas

Seventh District—H. M. SCOTT, Care Examiner, Los Angeles, Calif.

Subscription, \$1.00 per year, in advance.

This Journal will not be held responsible for views expressed by correspondents.

The first of each month is the closing date; all copy must be in our hands on or before.



The H. W. Rokker Co., Springfield, Ill.

NOTICE.

No. 9, Chicago, hereby advises all Local Unions of the I. B. E. W. that Bro. W. L. Wiles, No. 4650 (after due notice in the October Worker, page 614), has failed to pay a board bill of over six months' standing, the bill being contracted with a late brother's widow.

No. 9 demands that T. C. be withheld from Bro. Wiles, according to Art. 14, Sec. 11, of the Constitution. Furthermore, we request the L. U. where his card is in deposit to inform him of our action, and we (No. 9) in turn will demand his membership.

J. W. Yount,

2001 W. Congress St.

Boston, Feb. 8, 1909.

To G. Sec. P. W. Collins:

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER—At the meeting of Local 103 on Feb. 3 it was voted that the Local congratulate you and Grand President McNulty on the decision rendered by the American Federation of Labor.

James T. Kehoe,

Recording Secretary.

New York, Jan. 29, 1909.

MR. F. J. MCNULTY,

Grand President I. B. E. W.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER—At the last regular meeting held by the Inside Electrical Workers' Union, I was instructed to communicate to you that the Local voted unanimously that a vote of confidence be extended to you for the integrity and in the honorable manner in which you have conducted the business and welfare of the I. B. E. W. This motion was passed owing to the fact that circular pamphlet having been distributed among the members signed by J. W. Murphy, which did not speak very nice about our Grand Officers.

With best wishes of the organization, we remain,

Yours fraternally,

ERNEST KUMME, Recording Secretary.

Labor unions are no new invention. Accurate records of their existence in Roman times have been dug up in Pompeii.—Exchange.

APPEAL OF THE UNITED HATTERS OF NORTH AMERICA FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.

New York City, Feb. 8, 1909.

Mr. Peter W. Collins,
Secretary Int. Bro. of Electrical
Workers of Am., Pierik Building,
Springfield, Ill.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER-The National Association of Fur Felt Hat Manufacturers at a meeting held January 14 at the Knickerbocker Hotel, New York City, passed a resolution to discontinue the use of the union label of the United Hatters of North America in all factories controlled by members of their organization. This action on the part of the National Association of Hat Manufacturers is not only an attempt to destroy the usefulness of our union label, but an effort to disrupt our entire organization. We emphatically protested against this action of the manufacturers, and in every instance where the label was discontinued, our members went out with it. Since January 14 about twenty thousand men and women, comprising about ninety per cent of our entire membership, are out on strike and determined to remain out until the manufacturers agree to recognize the union label of our organization. As you are aware, the individual bank accounts and homes of our members in the Connecticut districts are now held under attachment by order of the court, thereby depriving our members of the use of their savings. The manufacturers knowing that we can neither draw our savings from bank, or raise money on our homes, are now trying to starve our members into submission. Deprived of the use of their sav-

ings, they are compelled to look to our organization for support, and with only ten per cent of our members working and \$70,000 per week required to support our members who are on strike, we are compelled for the first time in the history of our national organization, of over sixty years, to appeal to our brothers in labor for financial assistance. We believe that this fight for the recognition of our union label is of the greatest importance to all organizations. Our organization and label has been for several years the target of the National Association of Manufacturers, and, on account of the recent decisions of the court, they now thought the time was ripe to make a general attack on our union label. Owing to the many law suits in which our organization is involved, and the great expense incurred thereby, our treasury is not as strong as we would like to have it.

We therefore appeal to the members of your organization to render us whatever financial assistance they can. A small weekly assessment on the members of organized labor (if such could be secured) would show the manufacturers that we are prepared to carry on this fight indefinitely.

Assuring you that any help you may render will be inexpressibly appreciated by your brothers in the United Hatters of North America, we are,
Respectfully yours,

Respectfully yours,
United Hatters of North America.

JOHN A. MOFFITT,

President.

MARTIN LAWLOR, Secretary.

P. S.—Make all remittances to Martin Lawlor, 11 Waverly Place, New York City.

PRICE LIST OF SUPPLIES.

Charter Fee, for each member\$1	00
Seal 3	50
Rolled Gold Charms 2	OD
Solid Gold Emblematic Buttons, ea 1	00
Heavy Rolled Gold Emblematic But-	
tons, each	50
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Traveling Cards, per dozen	50
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Application Blanks, per 100	50
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Note—The above articles will be supplied only when the requisite amount of cash accompanies the order, otherwise the order will not be recognized. All supplies sent by us have postage or express charges prepaid.

Address Peter W. Collins, G. S.

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS BY CHICAGO TYPO-GRAPHICAL UNION.

To the Representatives in Congress of Cook County and United States Senators for Illinois:

Gentlemen—By resolution, Chicago Typographical Union has directed us, its officers, to address you on behalf of its 3,500 members concerning a matter of interest to hundreds of thousands of the

people of Cook county.

The Anti-Injunction Law and the recent ruling of Judge Wright are the causes of this intrusion. This gentleman and his decision indicate clearly what labor has to expect at the hands of the judiciary; also that that branch of the government has arrogated-stolen from the peoplepowers that should be vested, and were intended by the men of 1776 to be vested. in the law-making branch of the government. It is of vital importance to the people, and the working class especially, that the legislative branch of the governmental machine assert its prerogatives by enacting all the laws, and not leave that important function in part to an irresponsible group of corporation-trained lawyers, who, in the chapter of accidents, have won the judge's robe.

Laws are made for the people to obey and should be in consonance with the wishes of the people. Judge-made laws are far from that. What we have seen of them demonstrates that they are invoked for the purpose of hampering and retarding the progress of the masses by sinister influences that fear publicity. No injunction has ever been issued in a labor case that did not have for its sociological object the protection of personal greed. Clever lawyers and complacent judges have written thousands of pages about tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee, but in the end the injunction has always been used -and has always been issued, for the purpose of making it more difficult for labor to come into its own. This is contrary to the popular desire, and in all free countries when the courts flout popular opinion they invite that contempt and loss of dignity in the eyes of the people about which Judge Wright makes so much noise in that portion of his decision which we have had the opportunity of reading.

Publicists tell us to be patient; that the attitude of the courts is quite natural—the judges have been the lawyers of corporations, are accustomed to looking at all industrial questions from the standpoint of the dollar and believe the highest function of the workers is to make money for his employer and rear children for the same purpose. But, say these pacifiers, there will soon arrive a

new school of jurists, who will be in step with the public conscience and who will have higher ethical conceptions, and then justice will be done. These men, who have read history and reason from cause to effect, enjoy congenial surroundings and do not feel the pinch as we do. To that school, which includes many political economists and investigators of industrial conditions, we reply, "Why not justice now-in our time:" And we ask the same question of every lawmaker. When a wage-worker discusses these questions with the average citizen, a man who is not involved in the controversy, he is generally met with explanations about the courts, how slow they are, that they do not understand, and so forth and so on. Is it right that the laborer should be subjected to conditions for which everybody (excepting of course the unsocial beneficiaries) is apologizing or explaining? Our representatives in Congress are continually doing that. Why don't they do what they can to obviate the necessity for apologizing? To them we have the right to look for relief-and now.

Judge Wright may be a competent or an inefficient judge. We do not know; nor for the moment do we care. His decision is typical of the sort of treatment labor receives at the hands of the judiciary. He undertakes to discuss the industrial situation in so far as trade unions are concerned. Other judges have done the same, and with like results. A judge handing down a decision in which he criticises a large body or people, or even one person, should make himself acquainted with the facts, should he not? Judge Wright, however, takes sixteen thousand words to decide what he would have us believe is a simple question. As the biblical story of the creation is written in fewer than fifteen hundred words, it is evident the judge had some con-sciousness of the fact that he had more than simple truth to tell or a self-evident proposition to expound. It looks as though he felt it necessary to muddy the controversial waters. That common device we would let pass, but we do want you to heed some of the things he says to defend his position. He lectures the unions and says they do this and that. The published reports of the decision show that these criticisms have been taken from the statements of the prosecution. It would be fairer to judge the Republican party by what is printed in the most rabid Democratic paper, or vice versa. The world would see at a glance that such a court had less dignity than partisanship in making comment on such

a basis. Sitting in a cesspool of ignorance relative to unions, Judge Wright adds to its nastiness by exuding slander. In one place he says the unions limit a man's "earnings to a stated sum." do not know of any unions that do. As a representative of an industrial constitu-ency you know, or should know, that such an assertion is a cheap lie. In labor cases the United States Supreme Court has been guilty of loose statements to mat-ters of fact, but it had the sagacity to make them the basis of argument. Wright seems to have uttered this, and other falsehoods, merely for the purpose of venting his spleen. And yet he complains about the courts not being held in respect. If he and other friends of the courts are disturbed about the growing attitude of the public toward them, let them look to the courts for the cause, and not do as Wright did-screech like an angry fishwife at people who laugh at decisions which are a thousand miles away from justice and common sense.

If we take labor cases as a criterion, the judiciary apparently thinks that anything it feels like saying must be accepted as inspired. If, when dealing with industrial conditions, the judges persist in their refusal to study and understand those conditions as they really exist, they simply demonstrate they are barriers to progress. Of course, they will be ineffectual in the long run, but why should these issues be left wholly to the disposal of men who do not know and will not learn? A prominent eastern paper said that the justices of the United States Supreme Court were competent to deal with these questions because they were saturated with the writings of Smith, Mill, and other economists whose works have passed into the classics. If this is the economic knowledge that colors their thoughts, then we are subject to the philosophies of dead men who never conceived such a state of society as exists at present. This is nearly government of the living by the dead through the medium of calf-bound volumes. What a farcical condition!

Judge Wright says: "Since the injunction was granted, Van Cleave has felt the boycott more severely." That is easily understood by "ny person who has enough red blood in his veins to be of himself a factor in society. A score or so of polishers wanted some concession from Van Cleave. They were poor and obscure; he rich and influential. So Van Cleave brushed them aside and possibly told them to do their worst and go to the devil, for Van Cleave fought for slavery, you should know. It was an easy matter for him to beat them to a frazzle, and he laughed at their efforts to provide for their families, protect their jobs and their principles. They appealed to their friends; told them what they wanted and

what Van Cleave had done; still the employer laughed. After a while he began to feel the effects of this publicity; he evidently had no defense, for he did not meet these poor polishers with their own weapons—open discussion of the rights and wrongs or the social aspect of the case. He sought the assistance of the courts. This gave wider publicity to the fact that there was some difference between Van Cleave and his one-time employees. Thousands who knew nothing of the merits of the case became interested. They knew this, however, that Van Cleave acted like the arrogant little boy who invites a fight, and, when he finds himself being worsted, calls on his big brother for help. That is repulsive to the sense of fairness and decency that resides in all square men. The big brother stepped in to assist Van Cleave, but the general public got busy, and now Judge Wright is amazed that it did not applaud the cowardly act. Perhaps it is the proper pose for a judge to have no grasp of the sympathy and brotherhood that makes the world worth living in. Judge Wright seems to think we are on earth for the sole purpose of providing profits for others to spend. His attitude toward us is that of a fugleman of a feudal baron. and he is apparently sorry chattel slavery has been abolished or that he could not sentence Gompers and his colleagues to the darkest dungeon in the Van Cleave castle.

When we come to consider the personnel of the judiciary of which Wright is but a slightly exaggerated type, the training and life of the men, this union is not among those who are optimistic enough to think the working people have much to hope for from the courts. The judge is usually a "successful" lawyer, and to be that he must have rich clients: to keep them he must always be on the alert to show them how to make money or protect them in what they have, no matter how it may have been secured. No moral or ethical considerations can be allowed to interfere. Whatever will pass muster before a court by hook or crook is sufficient for the client. On the other hand, often the lawyer starts out in life with a desire to do anything that is remunerative and respectable; in time his watchword is changed to the distinctly lower one of "Anything that is remunerative is respectable enough." Thus he becomes adept in preventing the intent of law and in shielding practical criminals who have money enough to be respectable and remunerative. Though well-kept and well-groomed, these men, in a sense, belong to the plug-uglies and thugs of society. With their mental blackjacks and intellectual knock-out drops they render useless the legislative creatures begotten by the people for the purpose of protecting society against sins and crimes. Like

their similars in the lower world, the small voice of conscience taunts them for being unsocial and preying upon the general welfare. Their material interests being involved they soon reason that they are right. That for them the property of their clients is of first importance. Some follow that to its logical conclusion, and are candidly—and honestly, doubtless opposed to the common weal. Others take a Jekyll-and-Hyde position. have one set of views as a lawyer, another set as a private citizen. Thus, we find men opposing the regulation of childlabor and other evils, who, in private, explain that it "is all a matter of business, you know."

Among the workers, that is exactly the sort of reasoning we hear from men who sell their votes, and it sounds just as plausible, is as reasonable and as honest as the defense of such attorneys. With all their excuses, vote-sellers are regarded as social prostitutes among us and we do not and can not be true to one moral code and regard this kind of a lawyer as other than meritricious.

After years and years of squaring the dubious practices of his clients with the law and whipping his conscience into submission, one of these aspires to a seat on the bench. His successful clients attest his ability-he had served them faithfully and well-and naturally he is appointed. By this time he is about fifty years of age, for it is one essential of a judge that he shall be a man of matured opinions. In the progressive in-custrial world that is about where the dead-line is set. Men are tabooed because the mind has not the receptive quality it once enjoyed. When the corporation attorney ascends the bench some defenders of the judiciary say he looks at things differently than when he was a hired attorney of special interests. This, of itself, is a serious reflection on the integrity of the citizenship of successful lawyers. But do they change? It is impossible that a man of character should change the mental habits of a lifetime like he does his shoes or his hat. We do not think so meanly of the moral caliber of the judiciary as to hold that opin-With such training and their environment judges must perforce look with prejudiced eye on these aspirations of the working people which run counter to the interests of their late employers. If it were proposed that a body composed of men who had been in the employ of unions all their lives should dispose of industrial questions, how quickly the unfairness of the constitution of that court would be apparent, and yet the enforcement of laws should be intrusted to those favorable to them. The history of remedial legislation in the United States shows the result of having on the bench men

saturated with the philosophy of the money-grabbers. If some of the latter want to steal the streets from a municipality or wish to avoid the expense of protecting machinery so that human life may be saved, they find their most valuable aids in the courts. Their attorneys appear before their former colleagues and partners, now judges, and get what they want. This may be a blunt and somewhat uncouth way of putting it, but it is a summary of the history of many court decisions during the last genera-We do not impute dishonesty to the judges; on the contrary, we repeat that their attitude is quite natural. The corporation attorney before the judge necessarily reasons along the same line as his Honor was aforetime paid for reasoning, and there is easy agreement between the two minds. So, in reality, it is the mind of the corporation attorney that is on the bench. He glorifies technicalities and as against them even the lives of the workers are as nothing. Away down at bottom he believes labor has few rights which the court is bound to respect, its so-called "rights" being merely academic. Recently a local corporation attorney set up that claim in one of the courts here. The judge did not shout "Hear, Hear!" at the top of his voice, but the attorney won the suit he had based on that contention.

Judge Wright seems to hold the same view, though he does not express it tersely, preferring to use sixteen thousand words as a sort of sugar coating to the pill. But he does not deceive us. If we may judge by their opinions the courts refuse to look at industrial conditions as they exist. They speak of freedom of contract, for instance, whereas all unbiased investigators are agreed that under existing conditions it does not exist in reality. They talk about the equality of employer and employee when it comes to bargaining for wages. Think of the equal terms that exist when a worker is dickering about wages with a wealthy corporation. He can submit to the company's terms or perhaps starve. Though thousands of employers admit our right to get together and talk over our affairs as workers and devise means whereby we can help each other, and conservative economists declare it to be desirable from a social standpoint, the courts have never looked kindly on this proposition. Their opposition has often been expressed in an indirect and contemptible way. They say "workers have the right to organize." and then proceed under the guise of injunctions asked for by lawyer vassals of Mammon to circumscribe what we shall do to such an extent as to render us powerless to accomplish anything. They would give us the shadow and deny us the substance. There are hundreds of enjoined unions in the country, and the very fact that they are in existence is proof that they are in contempt of court. If the courts would apply the same reasoning to business men's organizations as they do to unions, the first named would have to dissolve or be in contempt. Indeed, the prosecution of business would be paralyzed if the courts treated all organizations alike. Of course, no one applies for injunctions against these business men's societies, for none would profit by their emasculation. But the unions, being the protectors of the many against the few, may interfere with ill-gotten prerogatives of greed, and the courts rush to the assistance of their especial pets, the profit-makers.

While the judges are recruited from the ranks of corporation lawyers who glory in their industrial bourbonism, it is folly for labor to expect justice at their hands. We may get law, variations of the English common law which, so far as it relates to labor, is reeking with the taint adhering to it from the period when it recognized slavery and serfdom. Naturally, you will protest that Gompers. and his fellows have not gone to jail, but have followed the sensible course and taken an appeal. Just so, but if it were the case of an ordinary workingman it would be jail for him. With the average yearly earnings at a little more than a dollar a day, it is an insult to the workingman's poverty to tell him to appeal to the Supreme Court. To do so in proper shape would consume all his earnings for twenty years. We are surprised at the kindly men who advise wage-earners to test this or that in the courts. If they do not intend to mock us, they should avoid advising us to do the impossible. This inability to go to law was one of the causes that gave birth to the unions. We sought justice in a cheaper and in a more direct way-the only way open to us. The object behind these injunctions is the destruction of these unions so that labor may be reduced to even lower earn ing power. Van Cleave and his friends deny this, but they are to the forefront in opposing labor betterments. In the South, they fight the regulations of child labor; in the North, the shorter workday Always, everyincurs their hostility. where, these men are opposed to the social uplift unless there is money in it. This group of pinchbellies parade the judges as their particular friends and denounce liberal-minded legislators as cowards and frauds. Judge Wright makes the reason for this clear when he intimates while Congress may not be able to curtail freedom of speech the Courts can and will. These employers want to curtail freedom of speech, and see the only way is through the courts, of which they sometimes speak as though they were their private property. They hope to obtain cheaper and more dependent labor-

the object of all their activity against the labor movement. That can only be done by reducing the standard of living among the workers. We have comfortably furnished houses, send our children school, some to universities, and, in other ways, live half decently. Nothing short of a cataclysm will make us surrender these things. The history of all progressive peoples show they do not retrograde in that respect. At this time we find our organizations and the work we can do through them most potent factors in securing and maintaining the standard we have achieved. Do you think we will need the courts if they outlaw us? Not unless we have become decadents and have forgotten our duty to the principles of true liberty, ourselves and posterity. The courts may compel an outward observance of its forms, but the work will go on-perhaps in an underhand and clandestine manner-but it will go on, and, if anything, more effectively than before. We prefer appealing to the public and being open and above board, for it affords us means to disseminate our views, stimulates social ambition among the workers and tends to the mental development of the community by giving it information on phases of industrialism.

In this connection contrast the frankness of Gompers on the witness stand with the shiftiness of some of our great captains of industry. One is eager to tell all he knows; the others-and these are supposed to be great men—give principally exhibitions of phenomenally forgetful memories where they do not refuse to answer questions. Before we surrender the standard of living we have attained or abandon the hope of betterment in the future, we shall also become tricky and travel ways that are dark. Those who seek injunctions always meant them for the subjugation of labor, and, up to date, the courts have served them with marvelous, though not unexpected, fidelity. All through the ages there have been tyrants-men who disregarded the social aspirations and rights of those subject to them. Sometimes, and in some places, they have been known as kings, and again as legislators. With us they are the judges. Just as surely as those tyrants used their powers unwisely just so surely were they breeding reprisals that overtook them. In Europe, and elsewhere, we have recently seen the fruits of this neglect of the social rights of the workers. In Australia and Belgium and Italy the general strike was resorted to as a means of restoring the equilibrium to some extent. Of the three thousand five hundred members of this organization, probably not a baker's dozen would listen to any talk of such a movement; but there is not an intelligent member who does not know that if the present abuse of power by the judiciary does not cease, the working people may have to cause industrial paralysis in order to preserve the rights and privileges that have been secured at the cost of so much treasure and personal sacrifice. We prize them and will not sur-

render them cheaply.

That is why we address you as a legislator. It is within your power to curb the rapacity of the labor crushers by placing restrictions on their handmaidens the courts. If you say such a course would lower the dignity of our courts, we remind you that the British courts hold a high place in the estimation of the world for dignity, and American workingmen are not seeking the enactment of nearly so stringent a curbing law as those judges were long under. Like causes produce like effects, and the British courts forced upon the workers so many conceptions born of the barbarous feudalism in the common law that they compelled a change. We think we are as good as the British workingmen, and if you do also, you will help us get the same protection from legal mossbackism. It is intolerable that we who bear a great share of the burdens of modern industry should be compelled to measure our self-protection by a lot of century-old maxims in law. It may not be within the province of the courts to consider social problems; but the legislator can not evade that duty, and he should see to it with a jealous eye that a branch of the government that officially knows naught of social questions, will not consider them, does not arrogate to itself law-making functions. There is danger in that for the state, for the social or human phase is the crux of our life, and it is a historical fact that revolutions are bred by the powerful neglecting their social obligations.

The clamor about the dignity of the courts is somewhat puzzling to us. If the courts dispense justice there will be no lack of respect for them. If, however, they let justice go hang and devote their energies to quips and quibbles that are principally useful in that they save the face of the rich, they need not be surprised if an earnest, hustling people look at them askance. If, like Judge Wright, they hand down opinions full of abuse long-exploded misrepresentations, taken from the speeches of firebrands whom the capitalist press has rebuked repeatedly, then mey must expect to be jeered at by the irreverent and laughed at by the better disposed. It is safe to say that in the universities and schools where trade unionism has been studied, Wright's comments were read amazement, or provoked side-splitting laughter. And it is well for all that we who suffer laugh at such exhibitions of ignorance on the part of those who set themselves up as teachers. When the mass of the people who live in the midst of things cease to laugh at such "breaks" as Judge Wright is guilty of, it will be an ominous portent.

We forbear commenting on the fact that corporations, with yearly incomes of millions, are fined a few hundred dollars, while hundreds of workmen are sent to iail. We refer to it merely as further evidence that the mayor of Toledo, Ohio, was right, when he said: "We don't build jails for criminals, but for poor offenders."

Do we want to boycott? you may ask. Yes; it is essentially an American practice, one which the revolutionary heroes prosecuted with great vigor and of which they were intensely proud. But we do not ask for the right to boycott on such senti-The courts have demental grounds. clared it is beyond the power of legislatures to prevent corporations from boycotting union men; then why, in the name of justice, should we be debarred from boycotting non-union corporations? If we are given a square deal in the light of our environment we will be allowed to bcycott, which is open passive refusal to aid your enemies. Everybody boycotts more or less, and employers' associations especially more, with employment agencies and other methods for establishing effective blacklists which is active secret war against an enemy.

It is only when the workingman as such attempts it that the scheme becomes particularly obnoxious to the court. judge boycotts lawyers who do not reach his standard of professional etiquette or are not members of the lawyers' union, and punishes severely physicians who ig-nore the medical code. Then why should we not be granted the same privilege? The answer is that we are mechanics and artisans, while the others are professionals and were not tabooed as serfs under the common law, so precedent favors the former. If the inhibition against boycotting were enforced impartially and punishment meted out, the whole nation would be in jail. Its enforcement against the working people only is class discrimination, which is infinitely worse than class legislation.

Chicago Typographical Union realizes that Gompers is standing-and noblyfor a principle. To paraphrase one of the great French leaders of thought: "The citizen who is truly patriotic will not submit to arbitrary measures." side that luminous and inspiring sentiment, all the talk about dignity of uninformed courts is dull piffle. A law, or a ruling that is tantamount to a law, which is promulgated without the advice and the consent of the people or their direct legislative representatives, is an arbitrary measure and an act of tyranny, be it benign or malign. In the phase presented in the Gompers case it is an attempt to abridge the right of free speech, as his utterances in the recent political campaign are cited in justification of the sen-He said something that hurt Judge Wright's sensitive conception of what is due a court, and consequently must go to jail because, in Wright's opinion, Justice Gould prohibited Gompers from saying those things. He resists this attempt on the part of a modern economic Jeffries and we wish him well, for resistance to tyrants is loyalty to the best aspirations of the race. If Congress could not pass an act preventing Gompers from criticizing its attitude toward him, is it not absurd to permit this or that judge to exercise such power?

We do not seek a pardon for Gompers nor for our fellow member Morrison nor for Mitchell, but we do ask that you support a law that will curb the powerhunger of the judges who are rushing to the establishment of an oligarchy that must lead to much confusion and waste, as the intolerable bourbonism of the

courts of fifty years ago made the Civil War inevitable. The judges, who are practically irresponsible to any higher authority, are dangerous men to intrust with too much power, as in the line of duty they will not, and possibly can not, heed the most potent influence in our life—the social and human influence. To ignore these factors in law-making or anything approaching it, in our complex state of society, is a fatal error that no legislator would be guilty of.

The legislators must act. What are you going to do? Give us relief, or let things drift from bad to worse under the guidance of purblind courts, ignorant of industrialism as your prototypes did before the Civil War? We respectfully await

your answer.

Hugh Brady, President Chicago Typographical Union 180. 16.

JOHN C. HARDING, Recording Secretary.

THE CRISIS FOR ORGANIZED LABOR.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

I T was at the call of organized workmen in the cities and of the farmers of the country generally that Congress eighteen years ago passed the Sherman anti-trust act.

The purpose was to control the rail-

roads and check the trusts.

If, instead of this, the railroads had been regarded as public highways, and had been taken over into public hands, and if the trusts had been treated as the outgrowth of special privileges, those privileges had been broken down, the evils we now suffer from the railroads and the trusts would have been removed.

But instead of such a cure, regulation was attempted, with a result that the railroads and trusts have waxed in dimensions and power. And the Sherman antitrust act, while proving of little effect against them—their lawyers thus far finding one way or another to circumvent it—has, on the other hand, become a bludgeon in their hands against organized labor.

Senator George of Mississippi offered an amendment which the Senate accepted and incorporated into the measure.

This amendment read: "This act shall not be construed to apply to any arrangements, agreement or combinations between laborers made with a view of lessening the number of hours of labor or of increasing their wages; nor to any arrangements, agreements or combinations among persons engaged in horticulture or agriculture made with a view of enhancing the price of agriculture or horticultural products."

But this "George proviso," as it was called, was stricken from the act in the conference committee between the two houses.

And so the act was passed without the George proviso.

Behold the result! One of its earliest uses was in the interest of the united railroads at Chicago against railroad employes and their leader, Debs, in the great Pullman strike of 1894.

The Federal injunctions issued in that case gave birth to a very cloud of labor

injunctions all over the country.

And now by unanimous dictum of the Federal Supreme Court, acts justifiable in individuals, when done separately, become criminal conspiracies in restraint of trade within the meaning of the Sherman anti-trust act if performed by labor organizations.

Two hundred and fifty hat makers and finishers in Danbury, Conn., will be the first to feel the weight of the law so construed. Attempts will be made to make the union men feel it.

The principle of combining to oppose what, as individuals, we have a legal right to oppose, runs throughout our social usages.

But when labor unions, primarily forced into existence by the necessity of laborers to defend tnemselves against the incursions of privilege, use this boycott weapon, they are laid low by it; and this through the reversal of former court decisions and a strained interpretation of an act passed at the urging of labor organizations to curb privileged corporations!

What can be done about it?

THE GOMPERS-MITCHELL-MORRISON CASE.

When judges administer the law, their decrees, though manifestly erroneous, should be respectfully obeyed. This is necessary to good order. But if judges usurp authority, their lawless edicts should be ignored. This is necessary to the preservation of liberty.

For that reason Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison— executive officers of the American Fed-eration of Labor, and editors of "The American Federationist" - are worthy of all commendation for having ignored a judge's injunction which assumed to control their public utterances. They stand in this respect, not as labor leaders merely, but as editors and American citizens, jealous of their fundamental rights of editorship and citizenship. By ignoring an injunction destructive of their Constitutional right to print and publish upon responsibility only for acuse of the right, and solely to a jury, they have been vindicating Constitutional guarantees of the first importance. The fact that it is a judge instead of an executive whom they have thereby disobeyed, makes no difference. Judges may be tyrants, too; and it is as true of them when they usurp power, as it is of every other kind of tyrant, that disobedience to a tyrant is obedience to law. the

The same thought holds good of all local labor unions and their publications throughout the country which have followed the example of those patriotic and courageous labor leaders-Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison. It may be that the boycott of organized labor upon the goods of the Buck's Range and Stove Company is unlawful; but that is a point we shall not here discuss, for it is irrelevant. It may be that the publication of the fact of this boycott, with a suggestion express or implied that it be encouraged, is unlawful; but neither shall we discuss that point here, for it also is irrelevant. The relevant point is the despotic and unlawful method of prosecution. If these publications have been unlawful, there is one way and only one way, known to the fundamental laws of our country, of punishing the offenders; and that is upon the verdict of a jury, and after a regular trial in which not only the fact of the publication itself but its excuse or justification may be passed upon. Our fundamental law authorizes no other method or process for the punishment of an abuse of freedom of speech or of the press. Punishment by means of an injunction, and through proceedings for contempt - such as the proceedings against Gompers and his associates—and at a hearing in which the only question considered is the mere fact of publication, and at which there is no right of trial by jury, is not authorized by our system of law.

Around that point no niceties of legal interpretation or construction legitimately cluster. Acute lawyers and astutely cluster. Acute lawyers and astutely deservation needed to decide it. It is a broad political as distinguished from a technical legal question. Every one who knows his American history knows that a judge-made prohibition of freedom of speech or press can issue only in defiance of fundamental American law. Not even the legislature, not even Congress can make such a prohibition. And may judges, raised above the control of the people, command what the legislative authority is powerless to enact?

These labor unions and labor leaders and labor editors, if they abused their rights of free speech and free press by proclaiming the fact of a labor boycott upon the Buck stoves, or even by advising this boycott, should have been prosecuted in the regular, the orderly, the only lawful way. They should have been sued for damages or indicted for crime, and been tried by a jury. That is what the law demands, if they were to be tried at all. That is what peace and order require. That is what good citizenship stands for. And why is it that this was not done if these men had really offended against the law? Only the disorderly and lawless or the ignorant among our citizenship would demand, and only the despotic among our judges would defend, any other course. For any other course involves usurpa-tion, and usurpation is the worst of crimes. By ignoring and thereby defying the lawless injunction of that Washington judge, an injunction well calculated if not deliberately designed to deprive them of lawful rights and a regular trial for alleged abuse of those rights, they have defied no law of this land. It is the judge that defies the law when his injunctions are usurpations of power, and not the citizens who refuse obedience to such despotic mandates.

The other Washington judge—he who, without a jury trial and lawful conviction but with unjudicial invective, has sentenced Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison to prison for their assertion of their Constitutional rights of free speech and free press against a lawless and revolutionary mandate—this judge evades in his reasons for his action, the vital issue in the case. Whether in ignorance of long established and generally familiar

politico-legal principles, or with deliberate intent to assist in surreptitiously undermining those principles by judicial usurpation, he explains that this injunction did not prohibit freedom of speech or press, except incidentally. Except incidentally! It was only incidental, he says, to the restraint of a conspiracy to injure the good will of a business. But the right to speak and publish without obstruction or dictation, subject only to responsibility for its abuse, and then to a jury and not to a judge, cannot be even incidentally disregarded by judges, without judicial usurpation. Unless this right is secure against incidental as well as direct invasion, it is not secure at If injunctions forbidding freedom of speech or press may be issued as an incident to injunctions for protecting the value of the good will of a business, or other property rights, there is no limit beyond which they may not go in destroying freedom of speech and of the press. The whole field of prosecutions for libel would thereby be brought within the jurisdiction of injunction judges, and our press become that of Russia.

Thoughtful citizens will not be betrayed, we trust, into misapprehending the real issue in this case, by any appeal to class prejudices based upon the fact that the case originated in labor union methods which they dislike. Whatever it may have been in the beginning, the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case is no longer at bottom a labor union controversy. It has raised the immeasureably higher question of whether one of the great traditions and guarantees American liberty shall be wiped out. The case is to determine not whether a labor boycott is legal, but whether the right to speak and publish freely shall remain in full force in our country, subject only to responsibility to a jury for its abuse. For purposes of restraint upon freedom of speech and press, the process of prohibition by injunction, of trial by a judge without a jury, and of punishment by penalties for contempt, is manifestly no part of the law of this land. And that is none the less true and none the less vital because the alleged abusers of their Constitutional right happen to be workingmen. It is none the less true because they happen to be workingmen organized in unions. It is none the less true because they happen to be poor instead of rich.

The Washington injunction which assumed to censor "The American Federationist" and to subject its editors to processes and penalties unknown for that purpose to the law of the land, was not a court decision to be respected by good citizens. It was a wanton and dangerous usurpation of power to be unflinchingly opposed, both in court and

out of court—by ballot and public appeal, as well as through the judicial machinery. As such, it was rightly and lawfully as well as commendably ignored by the men whose Constitutional rights it assailed.

"GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION."

What Governor Altgeld predicted when he denounced "government by injunction" is fast coming to pass. In the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case we have an example of the anticipated use of the injunction process as a substitute for jury trial for alleged abuses of the right of free speech and free press. The injunction against Gompers and his associates was essentially a command that refrain from publishing certain statements. For disobeying this injunction, they are convicted by a judge without a jury, of an abuse of freedom of the press, and sentenced to terms of imprisonment for periods of time wholly within the judge's unlimited discretion. "Government by injunction" has therefore reached the stage at which freedom of speech and of the press-heretofore consistently excluded from its authority -is drawn within its reach.

The judge who sentenced Gompers and his associates makes no question of the power of judges to prohibit by injunction the publication of libels, and then, without jury trial, to punish the alleged libeller, really for the offense but nominally for disobedience of the injunction. Listen to him in his disgraceful diatribe from the bench on the occasion of condemning Gompers, Mitchell and Morri-"Who can be persuaded," he said, "that the penalizing of false and malicious libels upon the integrity of honorable men, or slanders upon the virtue of chaste women, is an outrage upon the constitutional rights of the villifier?" And then he added, as if to remove all room for doubt of his sinister meaning: "No right to publish either the libel or the slander can be sustained, except upon a theory of a right to do wrong." Is the man a fool, having said this in ignorance of its significance; or is he worse, having said it with deliberate appreciation of its only possible meaning?

What he said does not mean merely that libel ought to be penalized. This is something which no one disputes. It is something which had nothing to do with the case before him, nor with any contention of Gompers and his associates or their lawyers. Their contention was not that there is any lawful right to libel "honorable men" and "chaste women." The whole contention was that there is a right to speak and publish with freedom, subject to punishment if the right be found by a jury to have been abused. What was insisted upon

was not that libel shall be penalized, but that it cannot be lawfully penalized by injunction judges. If Judge Wright's words mean anything, they must mean that in his mind judges may issue injunctions forbinding injurious publications, and thereby secure the power, by the subterfuge of punishment for contempt, of passing judgment upon the fact of publication, the character of publication, and the excuse or justification, all without a jury, and then to pass sentence in their own irresponsible discre-This is the limit of "government tion. by injunction." Let that view prevail and the whole range of public authority and criminal penalties will be within the arbitrary control of injunction judges.

THE DESPOTIC CHARACTER OF INJUNCTIONS.

Injunctions were unknown to the common law of England. Under that system of jurisprudence, the courts, aided by juries, punished offenses in accordance with common custom and Parliamentary statute. Bounded thus by custom, by Parliament, and by jury trials, this common law system was a people's system.

But it was imperfect, and the King intervened to do special justice in particular cases in which the common law could not afford complete relief. The acted through his Chancellor, keeper of his conscience; and the Chancellor invented a device for arbitrarily forbidding acts before their commission, and punishing their commission informally and summarily,—acts which the common law courts could punish only if forbidden by custom or Parliament, and after their commission, if regularly found by a jury to have been committed. This Chancellor's device was the injunction. By command of the King, the defendant was forbidden to do this or that; and if he disobeyed he was punished summarily by the King's order (through his Chancellor) without the necessity of considering common customs and acts of Parliament, or the bother of common law procedure and jury trial. The Chancellor's was not a people's system growing out of common custom; it was a despotic system, springing out of the King's arbitrary power.

No doubt, however, the despotism of the Chancellor's court accomplished good in modifying injustices incident to angularities of the common law courts as the Chancellor's court grew, it encroached so much upon the prerogatives of the common law courts that a great conflict arose between the two. This was finally compromised, certain matters being conceded to the chancery court, and the chancery court agreeing to regard certain other matters as out-

side its jurisdiction. In a general way it was understood that the chancery courts should have authority to protect property interests, but no authority to abrogate jury trial in cases in which it had become an Englishman's birthright. Consequently, the Chancellor could not prohibit murder, or robbrey, or libel, and then, under pretense of punishing disobedience of the injunction, deprive the alleged criminal of the safeguards of incocence which the common law courts maintained.

So long as the chancery courts and the common law courts remained two distinct systems, with different sets of judges, the jealousy of each set of judges prevented the other set from making encroachments, and the court of chancery kept well within its peculiar jurisdiction. So scrupulous was it that a chancellor of half a century or so ago would have laughed at an application, for instance, to grant an injunction against the threatened publication of a libel. He would have said: "Should that injunction be disregarded, I shall have to try a libel case in chancery!" and that would have seemed to him one of the absurdest things imaginable.

But after these two kinds of courtswere merged into one, and the two distinct sets of judges had become one set,. all having both chancery and common law authority, the jealousy which had. prevented the encroachments by courts of chancery upon the courts of common law no longer existed, and the boundaries between the gracious and irregular despotism of chancery and the regular and rigid justice of the courts of law became indistinct. As occasion. arose, therefore, judges began to usurp cover of chancery authority under methods-just as the Washington court has done in the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case. That is to say, a judge having the authority to sit in a jury trial upon charges of crime committed and having also the authority as a chancellor to grant an injunction, would some-times fall under temptation to make the short-cut of granting an injunction incidentally forbidding a crime before its commission, and then punishing it in his own discretion and without jury trial by treating it as a contempt of the court. When he gave in to this temptation his associates were not unlikely to sympathize with him, since it extended their own power as well as his; and there was no other set of judges to resent this invasion of their jurisdiction and hold it in check. Consequently the despotic injunction methods of chancery have made gradual but now quite perceptible in-roads into the common law method of indictment and jury trial, thereby undermining some of the most valuable guarantees of popular liberties. It has all been done, of course, upon pleas of special necessity, but these are the pleas that have always been set up to let tyranny in since history began.

Mr. Taft, now President-elect, was, while he sat upon the bench, one of the early innovators in the direction of substituting for jury trials for crime the summary proceeding by injunction with its chancery penalties for contempt. Little by little the innovation has proceeded, until now a judge at the capital of the Republic proclaims the injunction as a legitimate substitute for jury trial in libel cases. Twenty years ago the American bar would have been horrified at such a declaration. Leading lawyers would have denounced it as "bad law," and serious hints would not have been wanting from that quarter that the judge

uttering such heresy must be incompetent or worse. But today, this judicial heresy draws out no serious criticism from the bar, stimulates no repugnance, excites no wonder. Even the newspapers, those that are not yet in danger of this mode of attack, are supine unless indeed they encourage the reaction. So far then have we gone on the backward road toward absolutism.

Even as the injunction originated in despotic kingly power, even as it was a device for overriding the law, so now is it passing back again from a regulative process of value within limitations—having overleaped those limitations—and asserting itself as a mandate of despotic authority. Originally a device of the king for usurping judicial functions, it is coming to be an instrument of judges for usurping kingly functions.—The Public.

LABOR CONDITIONS IN ITALY.

BY H. WEINSTOCK.

In my investigations of the labor laws and labor conditions in Italy, I find from inquiries made of Dr. Marphetti of the Government Labor Bureau, which is a branch of the Ministry of Agriculture, Manufactories and Commerce, that labor legislation in Italy is much occupied just now with the problem of legalizing and regulating collective bargaining as between associations of workers and associations of employers, more especially in its bearings on agricultural labor contract, agricultural labor having attained a high degree of organization in Italy, the unions numbering 270,000 members plus 60,000 or 70,000 outside the federation.

In the national council of labor, in which the Government is represented, there is a strong current in favor of introducing into such collective bargaining a clause enforcing compulsory arbitration in labor disputes, but such a measure requires careful study before being concreted, as there is strong opposition to it, especially on the part of the workers themselves, who think their interests are better safeguarded by avoiding all such compulsory intervention.
Three private bills will be brought into the House of Deputies in favor of compulsory arbitration, and the Government has promised to study them and incor-porate the principle in a measure of its own initiative, but it is easy to see that months, if not years, will have to pass before such a project is concreted. There already exist in most trades permanent arbitration bodies known here as "Probiviri," chosen half amongst the workers and half amongst the employers, elected at fixed intervals, generally every two years, to whom disputes arising as to the interpretation of a contract can, if desired, be submitted by masters and men, and it is proposed to extend such boards, whose awarus are taken into consideration by the courts should the dispute be carried into them, to agricultural labor.

Unionism is a comparatively young movement in Italy, having been formed in 1892. Organization of the peasantry into leagues of resistance is of still more recent date, being formed in 1901, when it started in the province of Mantau, after an unusual outbreak of strikes and lockouts in rural districts. The movement was started and directed by Socialist leaders and is still almost entirely in their hands. These organizations differ widely in different provinces in their aims and methods, the regulation of internal immigration from one province to another assuming very large proportions.

Since the creation of agricultural unions there has been a marked advance in wages paid to farm hands, raising them in some districts from 13 cents a day to 65 cents, or a gain of 500 per cent, and nearly everywhere the pay has been more than doubled. It is not claimed by the unionists that this marked difference is wholly due to organization—emigration, notably in the southern provinces, being mainly re-

sponsible for this, as labor has become scarce in these sections, and can command its own price. Opponents of unionism maintain there is little relation between the growth of unionism and the increase of wages other than that of coincidence, but it is generally admitted that the unions have had their share in raising the standard of living.

Labor bureau statistics show that the

Labor bureau statistics show that the paying of labor by the hour has put a prenium on long rather than short hours, due to the wish of the laborer to make large wages. Many farm laborers work fourteen hours a day in the busy season, and live in the fields they till.

Better methods of farming have been introduced, the increased cost of farm labor having tended to this end. Laborsaving devices are used where possible, and these have not, as a rule, aroused antagonism of the unions.

LAND VALUES ADVANCE.

It might be presumed that the highly increased cost of labor would have diminished noticeably the returns cashed by land-owners, and thus tended to de-It would appear, press land values. however, that the reverse has taken place. This is due in the first place to the improved methods of farming introduced partly as the result of the increased cost of labor and partly owing to the active educational propaganda carried on by the Italian Government by means of traveling chairs of agriculture, experimental fields, etc., and also to the decline in the capitalization value of money. Another determining factor is the land buying of the Italian emigrants, who return home with their savings and who are keen bidders for available land which they are willing to acquire at almost any price to gratify their ambition to become land owners, on however so small a scale. It is feared that should commercial depression in America continue and lead to a return on a large scale of Italian emigrants, such return would tend to overload the labor market and might seriously disturb recent prosperity and check the advance in wages, prices and land values which has been continuous of late. So far, however, the official returns received by the labor bureau show that, although large numbers of emigrants have returned, no bad effects have as yet been felt, and indeed the return has been welcomed in many districts where the scarcity of labor had begun to be so seriously felt as to contribute a clause of impoverishment to the southern provinces and compromise their economic prosperity.

LABORERS IN PARMA STRIKE.

The great strike now in the province of Parma, which is focusing the attention of Italians of all parties on the problems of labor, is the result of the lack of emigration from Parma and Central Italy, and the laborers seeing the advance in other sections, and being egged on by the "Syndicatist" or Socialist party, have struck. The Syndicatist party opposes parliamentary actions to the syndicatist party opposes parliamentary action, but favors a policy of harassing the land-owner by strikes and boycotts so he cannot continue farming operations, and he will thus be willing to rent the lands to unions of peasants, who would propose to exploit them collectively. The land-owners have organized and are now conducting the fight aggressively with the object in view of breaking up the organization of peasants and enforcing the principle of the "open Twenty thousand organized peasants are involved in the strike, which has lasted two months and the termination of which cannot be foreseen.

PUBLIC OPINION DIVIDED.

Professor Montemartini says that public opinion on compulsory arbitration was directed along three currents, one favoring the creation of permanent arbitration boards to which the parties to the dispute could voluntarily have re-course at any time. Another is in favor of compulsory conciliation boards to which all disputes would have to be submitted before either the employers or men could declare hostilities, and a third is in favor of compulsory arbitration. The serious dimensions assumed of late by strikes such as those of railway employes, and more especially the gravity of many agrarian strikes, in some of which the military have been called out and many lives lost, has strongly influenced public opinion in this direction. The measure which the Socialist deputy, Hon. Bissolati, intends placing before the chamber, proposes to penalize manufacturers who refuse to obey the award of the arbitration board by closing their establishments, but no penalties are proposed for the workers who offer no security. Another measure proposes to keep back as security for workers a certain proportion of their wages till the termination of the agreement under which they are engaged.

The year 1907 was a record breaking one for strikes in Italy, as they attained the number of 2,500, as against 900 for 1906, and 600 for 1905, but it is probable now that the number will tend to decrease.

TRADE UNIONS.

Addresses to Senior Class of Divinity School, Yale University?

January 20, 1909, by Henry Sterling.

I. CAUSES FOR EXISTENCE.

NE of the most striking things in the industrial world is the number of men out of work. At any time, in any place, civilized, uncivilized, or half civilized, large numbers are suffering enforced idleness. Any sort of a job, at any kind of wages, will find any number of takers. The misery, want and demoralization that result from this condition are appalling. No agony is so acute, no anxiety so intense, as that of the penniless man out of work with a family dependent upon him. It blasts hope, ambition, aspiration. It destroys the moral sense and paralyzes the intellectual pow-Its victim becomes incapable moral aspiration. mental exertion orManliness is undermined, and the wretch vainly seeking a job becomes an abject, cringing, shrinking creature, submissive to any indignity, or any oppression or extortion, if only it will bring him the means to live. The courage and enter-prise that might enable him to strike out for himself are lost; it is useless to try new lines of work, for all are overcrowded; and if there is no room for him in the calling in which he has some skill, what chance has he in the calling in which he has none?

Millions endure this agony daily. Statistics are not available, as the personnel of the out-of-works is constantly changing; yet it is safe to say that not less than one-twentieth of the workers are constantly out of employment. periods of depression the proportion is the Associated Last spring Press dispatches stated that a police canvass of Providence revealed 8,000 people out of work. The city's population is given as 200,000, and if the ratio held good for the nation, 3,200,000 were in idleness. Counting five to a family, there were over 15,000,000 persons without any regular means of subsistence! These figures may be high, but something is radically wrong if it can be shown that even a single individual, anywhere, lacks the necessities of life, is willing to work, and is denied the opportunity so to do.

Millions are workless. The ghastly spectre, Want, which has so long dogged their footsteps, has them in its grasp. For their woe there is no alleviation, no redress. Statesmen, churchmen, philan-

thropists, economists—all turn from them. Charity alone doles out a sop to save them from starvation. They ask the highest political authority in the land what to do, and receive for a reply, "God knows."

This horror is needless. It is a social iniquity. It is the primary and paramount crime of society against the workers, for there are abundant opportunities of labor for all in this and every land. The soil is the source of all employment of every kind. Until every foot of it has been put to its utmost intensive use, there is no righteous excuse for involuntary idleness. Mines by the thousand are unopened; fields by the million are unbroken; above all, city lots without number-opportunities unlimited stores, factories, homes-lie untouched, naked and useless, a shame to us and our civilization, while the crowded slums fester and idle men walk the streets in despair. Every city shows more of its area idle than is used. The area of the United States is 60 times that of England, but its population is only three times as great. Yet in England the bitter complaint is made that vast stretches of land which should employ and maintain a numerous population, are held idle for pleasure or profit, or used to preserve game for the rich to slaughter at their convenience.

So it is the world over. It is not for lack of opportunity to labor that men are idle. Nature is no niggard. God has provided for us an abundance of material blessings.

Plainly, our first great crime against humanity is our system of tenure of land, which restricts, abridges and denies to men the chance to work. The man out of work is a guest at a feast spread by the Father of all, yet by his fellow-guests denied an opportunity to satisfy his necessities. His sufferings, anxiety, misery and degracation are needless and uncalled for, and are not to be blamed upon God, who has plentifully provided for all. Rather we, His creatures, are to blame, having intervened with pernicious laws between labor and its opportunity, and separated the creature from the bounties of his Creator. There are ample opportunities for labor, but we deny them to the laborer.

But the evils that flow from nonemployment do not stop with those who are idle; they extend themselves to all who work. Low wages for all are the direct result of the enforced idleness of some. The competition for jobs drives the pay to a point below the demands of justice, below the demands of physical The average for men is benecessity. low ten dollars per week. What kind of an income is that on which to rear an American family? There is not a mechanic or manual laborer in the world who receives enough in wages to satisfy the reasonable physical wants of a growing family. Higher joys are out of the question, or are pinched from the necessities of the physical. It is only when men break away from manual labor early in life that there is any hope of mental growth or intellectual attainment. The mass of working men are little better than mere machines, to be used or discarded as profit or inclination dictates. They can be no other with such meagre means.

Then, the fear of idleness makes men submit to brutally long days of labor. I am aware that a high authority has declared that men should work each day to the point of physical endurance without injury, and this has been accepted as a pronouncement against the demand that unions are making for less hours of labor. But a mistake has arisen from lack of apprehension of the difference between work and labor. Work is ever a joy to the normal man, but labor is always a burden. To accomplish some desirable thing by mental or physical exertion is pleasureable work, which should better the whole man and add to his happiness; but to drudge unceasingly at a toilsome task, hour after hour, day after day, year in and year out, to the point of physical exhaustion, without pleasure in it, without profit pecuniary without or otherwise, without relaxation or hope of release except in death-indeed, release would bring the greater ills of idleness and want—with no opportunity for the exercise of any faculty than the one employed on a wearying task-this is labor. We recognize the difference in common speech. Of a plan, or a machine, or a system, we say it works well; of a ship in distress, in danger of destruction, we say she labors. The word implies painful, strenuous ef-The distinction is clearly made in Rev. 14:13, "Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them," implying that eternal rest and escape from labor is one of the conditions of the blessed hereafter, while work is one of its joys. The difference between work and labor is is the difference between pleasure and toil.

Low wages, and fear of idleness and want, drive men to long hours of labor that exhaust them physically, morally and spiritually. Again, fear of losing a job induces a species of servility, a submission to petty tyranny and exactions, that is wholly foreign to a manly spirit. Ready, prompt, cheerful obedience proper orders is a virtue that becomes a man, but he whose necessities submission to indignity and imposition is a pitiable object indeed. Men take much pride in calling scabs free and independent workmen, but for workmen there is no approach to freedom or independence in any other than a union shop, and frequently not as much there as there should be.

One other great and bitter wrong remains to be noted-society seems be in a conspiracy to pilfer from the laborer as much as possible of the meagre wage he receives. No one holds land that he himself is not using except for the purpose of getting wealth without work; interest money and dividends are unearned by the receiver; profits from artificial and other monopolies are incalculable; tariff and patent laws seem specifically designed to allow easy methods of creating monopolies to force tribute from industry to idleness; ground rents, interest, dividends and monopoly profits are all abstracted from the workers. No other source exists from which they can be drawn. Wealth is not a Wealth is not a spontaneous growth, nor is it produced by magic, or sleight of hand, but only by labor applied to land. Every dollar not earned by useful work is taken from the wages of those who toil. Our systems of taxation, of land tenure, of the issue of money and of dealing with natural and creating artificial monopolies, enables some to secure the products of labor without work. E. H. Harriman is reported to have "made" over \$37,000,000 out of one deal in Union Pacific. represents the work of a \$20-a-week man for 37,000 years. We are having shocks of holy horror at the thought that city laborers who receive something like \$500 a year, are grafting, but it would take 100,000 years for one to match Rockefeller's \$50,000,000 per year graft. A mock reform pinches perhaps a hundred thousand per year from the laborers of a great city, but the \$4,000,000 paid to money lenders is not reduced by a penny, and but little effort is made to tax the property of the rich on the same basis as that of the poor. Pernaps Rockefeller's work is worth more than the laborer's, but the fact remains that only by the strength of a powerful monopoly could the Indiana Oil Co. extort \$55,000. 000 profits in eight years from an investment of \$1,000,000.

A great city opened the New Year by

reducing the earnings of its employes \$2500 a day, and the assessors of that state at the same time discovered \$30,000,000 worth of property untaxed. Less graft among the rich would have kept these men at the work the city needed done.

John Wanamaker, in an official statement made when he was Postmaster General, showed that "an investment of \$1,000 in 1858 in Western Union stock would have received up to 1890, stock dividends of more than \$50,000, and cash dividends of more than \$100,000."

Nearly every item of necessity, of food, clothing, shelter, heat, light, transportation and communication, is enhanced in price by the extortion of monopoly. Great fortunes are built by picking the pockets of the poor. Not less than a quarter of the meagre sum the wage-earner receives is yielded as a tribute to the exactions of monopoly.

These are not fanciful pictures or rhetorical exaggerations, but the bare cold facts of our civilization. We create an artificial scarcity of opportunity of work. The resulting competition for jobs lowers wages below decent living conditions, and uncertainty of employment demoralizes all classes of labor. Lastly we allow monopoly to filch away a large proportion of the pitiful wages paid.

The race has outgrown many superstitions, and among them is the belief that God gives to one man riches and another poverty. God's bounty has provided plentifully for all. By cunning, greed, extortion and hardness of heart riches are drawn from the labor of others. What a picture of blasphemy is presented by the man who not only shuts his heart to the needs of his fellows, but plunges them into deeper distress by using his God-given talents to wring from them every penny that monopoly can extort, and then ascribes his wealth to the favor of Divine Providence! The public announcement of such doctrine now covers its advocate with contempt.

Not one of the leading institutions condemns these deep, far-reaching, fundamental, demoralizing wrongs. Presspulpit and party ignore them. Presidents, preachers, professors, politicians and leaders of labor all discuss what they call the labor problem, but none state what it is, or define or analyze it, or make any allusion to these three obvious iniquities which create it.

Yet the existence of these three artificial wrongs—scarcity of employment, low wages, monopoly extortions—is responsible for the existence not only of trade unions, but of all the other striking social phenomena that distress and perplex us. That deep poverty which breeds ignorance, vice, brutality, crime, degradation, is the direct outgrowth of these wrongs, which we ourselves have cre-

ated. Consumption is one of the punishments of poverty. Intemperance, with all its misery, is another of its baneful fruits. People are not poor because they drink, but rather they drink because they are poor.

Contemplate the awful results of this trinity of wrongs: Vast masses of humanity are kept perpetually without the material means or possibility of anything above a mere animal existence, without enough at any time to satisfy reasonable physical needs; woman labor, with its robbery of unborn generations, and child labor with its pitiful horrors: death's ghastly harvest among the babes of the poor; the meagre, starved childhood; the toiling, suffering manhood; the shortening of the narrowed life-these are fruits of lack of work, low wages and private monopoly. The joy of work and of life depart; art, science, literature, to the working poor are dead; home is but a name; education and culture are un-Long known to the laboring masses. hours of toil. exhausted energy and meagre reward destroy vitality, hope and aspiration, and make a higher life impossible. A few of exceptional endowment, with good fortune and determination, have overcome and risen above adverse conditions; but the masses die on the plane on which they were born.

Wages measure intelligence, elevation, civilization. The country with the highest level of wages has the highest degree of happiness and the highest standard of citizenship, and the peoples of the lands with low wages are abject in their misery, degradation and servility. The employment of the unemployed, the elevation of wages and the destruction of primonopoly should be the thought of statesmen, Christians, philanthropists, labor men-of all who desire progress, who love their fellows, and who long for a higher, cleaner, more just civilization. The elevation of wages is the only means to elevate humanity. He who works to that end works in the only effective way possible to promote the joy of life and work and the welfare of the

He who depresses wages or makes the conditions of labor harder and the hours longer is an enemy of humanity, who for selfish ends robs little children, defiles and degrades woman, and debases man. Instead of love, he sows hatred, distrust and dishonesty; instead of lightening loads and relieving distress, he deepens the misery and adds to the burdens of those who have already more than they can bear.

Let me repeat again, for emphasis, that poverty, ignorance, and nearly all vice, crime and misery, are caused directly by (1) uncertainty of employment, (2) low wages, and (3) the extortions of monopoly.

These ills are enough to create and justify trade unions. Indeed, men are not rational who fail to unite against wrong. The labor movement is a protest against evil conditions and the expression of aspiration for a higher life. It is the embodiment of the laborer's desire and hope for better conditions and environment for those who follow him, even though he himself may not attain to them. The strength of the labor movement is the pledge of a nobler civilization.

Not that the unions have attained any deep insight into the causes of labor's ills, or their cure. They have not. Their vision is short, their efforts-noble, selfsacrificing, partially effective—are largely misdirected. The whole force of the union attack is against low wages, long hours and bad labor conditions. fact that the non-employment of some is the immediate cause of these ills is never noted. Feeling that they are justly entitled to a larger return for their labor, the union seeks to unite all the workers in each industry in a demand for higher It sets a minimum wage, and urges all to refuse to work for less. It fixes a maximum length of day, and urges that none work more. It holds conferences with employers, urges the justice and benefits of its demands, and finally a strike is ordered. But all the while the fact that the market is glutted with idle labor is wholly ignored. Workmen hungering for a job are plentiful. The employer has but to suffer the inconvenience of a change in the working force, and the workmen who sought a gain has lost all. Frequently the employer is a gainer by the strike, for the newcomers will generally submit to a further reduction. The men who took the places of the strikers are bitterly denounced, but whatever caused their idleness defeated the strike. Not until the union has fully considered the man out of work and the cause for his lack of employment will strikes be as effective as their promoters hope.

When all have equal share in and equal access to the soil, the gift of God, idle labor, idle lands, low wages and the "worthy" poor, will disappear—and not till then.

New Zealand borrowed millions at low rates of interest, loaned it directly to actual users at a slight advance, and thus stimulated industry and relieved her citizens from extortion.

New South Wales relieved her industries from taxation and placed the burden on land, with the result that the demand for workmen took the idle labor out of the market.

But above all else, we need a sufficient enlightenment of conscience to realize that to gain wealth without work is to steal it from the worker. And we need to see that we ourselves are as guilty as the ones who benefit by the theft. Had the Good Samaritan and the priest and the Levite watched without protest the robbery of the victim,—they would have done exactly what we are doing today. We need no fanciful or Utopian scheme to overcome the wretchedness of poverty, with all its concomitant vices. We need only justice, to do as we would be done by. The point to keep in view is that it is caused by involuntary idleness, low wages and the extortions of private monopolies. Involuntary idleness is needless, and if abolished other reforms would follow.

Here is the remedy offered by organized labor for wrong social conditions: Unite for better wages and hours and working conditions. The first part, organization, is not only rational and commendable, but evil conditions never can be overcome unless men unite and act together against them. The second part, better wages, hours and conditions, can never be obtained completely while the cause of low wages and oad conditions—that is, enforced idleness—remains.

Now this remdy is so short-sighted as to be pitiful. It promises no end whatever to the struggle. Indeed, leading labor men at times express themselves as seeing no prospect but that labor troubles, more or less acute, must continue on and on indefinitely. There is no promise that evil industrial conditions will be finally abolished by the tremendous sacrifices being made along the lines now pursued.

But the remedy of the trade unions has the merit of being of practical value. Their efforts to relieve conditions and make life more tolerable for millions, while the remedies offered by the accepted authorities of society are not only useless, but if generally applied would be positively injurious and aggravate the sufferings now undergone by the poor. Consider them. Greater diligence, greater thrift.

Now of what avail is it to urge men who are already overworked, who break down and become old before their time, to more strenuous endeavor? Of course individuals of unusual ability or endurance may benefit therefrom by extra exertion, but if all could and should follow the same course, none would be benefited. The output might be greater, but wages would not rise, for they depend on the amount of idle labor available. It is as if persons in a race were told that they would win by increased effort; one might, but the heart-breaking pace would in no wise benefit his competitors, and must soon break him down. To urge more strenuous effort is simply to set up a more bitter competition as to who can do the most for little pay, when all are overworked and underpaid already. It is

to break down the less efficient still earlier, without any probability of any benefit to come to labor. For wages constantly tend to the lowest point at which laborers will consent to subsist, and any increase of product created by extra effort or efficiency would only further enrich those who now enjoy the products of

labor without working for them.

Greater thrift would be still more With less than cruel and disastrous. enough for actual needs, excluded by lack of means from the elevating influences education, literature, art, music, drama, science, the laborer is glibly told to save always some portion of his pitiful ten dollars or less per week. matter if the children need better food, and clothing, and shelter, and education, which the meagre wage will not possibly buy-save. Whatever the privations and sacrifices and meagreness and narrowness of the life of the overworked wife and mother-save. And if the poor man is fortunate enough to escape sickness, and accident, and bereavement, and the financial sharks that beset such as he, he may have a pittance left for old ageif he reaches old age.

Not such is Christ's advice, "Take no thought for the morrow," "I ay not up for yourselves treasures." There is a deeper economic philosophy in those injunctions than is often thought. What if the laborer should save? What if the workingmen should put in the bank onequarter of their income for the coming There would be one-quarter less goods bought, one-quarter less goods made, one-quarter of the mills and factories closed down, one-quarter of the people now at work would be idle, the pressure for jobs would be intensified, and wages would drop one-quarter, to a point where want would compel the expenditure of every dollar the poor man Men in high stations, with comfortable incomes, should be exceedingly cautious how they advise the lowly to save. Not that the common people will invite disaster by adopting such a course: their common sense and necessities make that impossible; but the advice reflects on the intelligence of the adviser. Thrift may elevate a few financially at the expense of others. It would ruin the race if universally applied.

Co-operation has been recommended. But we co-operate now, to the fullest extent, in manufacturing and handling goods. It takes the work of hundreds of persons to make the simplest article. The difficulty lies in the division of the product. Some get much for doing little or nothing, while some receive little-

very little-for doing all.

Better wages, hours and labor conditions are the things essential for a better civilization. The union makes no mistake when it demands them. The error

is that it fails to consider the cause of low wages-idle labor-and that.

The trade union, seeking higher wages for its members, finds its first foe in the employer. But he is not the real opponent. The employer may fight the batthe but the whole social body is against the laborer. It has always hated the taint of manual labor, and has always held the laborer in one or another form of subjection.

Charity may freely flow, and sympathy for the "worthy" poor is abundant; but the unworthy poor have most need of sympathy and love, and the existence of "morthy" poor is simply a proof of social injustice. But society resents the pre-sumption of a demand for higher wages, or better working hours or conditions, while the union insists that these are the vital points. Philanthropy and an awakening public conscience may multiply educational facilities, but of what avail are they to the man worn down by long hours of physical labor, without time or money to take advantage of them?

Here, then, are the actuating motives of the trade union, the feelings that call it into being—a protest against existing conditions with an earnest conviction that they are unjust, and a deep aspiration for a fuller, broader, larger life.

Its greatest, most beneficent and far-reaching work has been in the realms of public thought and legislation. church, of course, has enunciated high moral principles: but to the trade unions belongs the credit of making such partial application of those principles to industrial conditions as has been attained in our age. "As ve would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them, said the church, and organized labor called upon all the world to look upon fainting womanhood and blighted childhood in industry, and asked, "Is that as ye would be done by?" "The life is more than meat and the body more than raiment," proclaimed the church. But the laborer gives up life for less than enough meat to sustain it, and his raiment is the poorest worn. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Then cease to maim, and mangle, and kill, and poison, in dangerous industries and unsanitary workshops. The church announces the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men. "Then give our injured and striking brothers the same rights in the courts and under the law that other citizens enjoy," reply the trade unions.

These appeals have not been in vain. The unions have aroused the public conscience until the best thought of the time has turned toward economic subjects. The widespread, earnest discussions of all phases of the problems of poverty and labor give sure promise of progress to-

ward their solution.

The great failure of the unions in the realm of thought and conscience is that they have not yet taught mankind that to get wealth without work is to rob the worker.

One of the highest achievement of organized labor is the acceptance and practical application of the golden rule among men seldom reached by church or school. Among union men, working together, every act of one toward his fellows, is judged by the question, "Is that good unionism?" Which, being interpreted, means simply, is it doing as you would be done by? Not that the men have attained perfection in this or any other regard-indeed. I have heard union men reproach each other with being as as church members-but the question is always there, and men ask it of themselves, and they are constantly growing more kindly and forbearing, more considerate of each other's feelings and welfare, more zealous for the common good, more ready to sunbordinate individual will, or opinion, or interest, to the will, or opinion, or interest of the

Its methods are ultra-conservative. rejects without courtesy all new or radical propositions and all "remedies." Socialism, single tax, co-operation, philosophical anarchy, prohibition, free trade, protection-all these and many more ideas have been forced upon the attention of organized labor, but it would have none of them. It has clung closely to its old methods-organize, ask advances, confer, arbitrate if arbitration is wanted, strike, boycott. All these methods were practiced ages before the Christian era. Modern trade unionism has added but one weapon to its armorythe union label. It has lost one weapon the sword. The ballot was given to it, but as yet the workmen have no conception what it is for, or how to use it to defend or advance their own rights and interests, nor has any other class or Direct legislation—that is, lawsociety. making by ballot, by which process laws unjustly upon the workers might be changed without the intervention of secret, sinister influences-is endorsed by organized labor. But leaders, national and local, turn their backs upon it, and they thus leave their followers defenseless before their enemies. have wandered deeper and deeper into an endless judicial and legislative quagmire. from which nothing can ever them but a direct voice in law-making.

To summarize: Labor, by law, is so restricted in opportunities for employment that an unnatural competition between laborers for jobs forces wages to the lowest possible point, and the monop-

olist pilfers at least 25 per cent of what little the laborer receives. The trade union attacks these conditions with a demand for better pay, hours and working conditions. Its contention is just.

To the trade unionist the wage-scale is the all-important point. To raise it is to elevate, to lower it is to degrade humanity. Its ideal is, that each man should enjoy the full fruits of his own toil. Poverty, with all its vices and its woes, and superfluous wealth, with its pride, arrogance, greed, selfishness and wicked vanities, would both disappear could the union fully succeed. "Thy kingdom come, on earth."

This is the goal toward which organized labor is striving. It is not for me to indicate your line of policy, or to force upon your conscience the thing that seems right to mine. But I exhort you to examine earnestly into the truth of the statements I have made to you.

I often think that the parable of the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho has a more important significance than is usually attached to it. The man seems to me to typify Laborhe fell among thieves, was robbed, stripped, wounded and left for dead. And the priest and Levite of that day passed by on the other side. The union has not restored the stolen goods, but it has relieved the distress somewhat. It has striven to uplift, comfort and defend all whom it could reach. It has stayed somewhat the hand of the despoiler. It has invited to its fold all who will come, to share its toils and sacrifices, and to enjoy its blessings-except the man or race who would lower wages. Even the "scab" is welcome, if he bring forth fruits meet for repentance.

Are your fellow men victims like the man on the way to Jericho? Not only at the last day, but every day of your lives, you will be judged by the Word, "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto these, ye did it not unto Me."

Some complaint has been made that men will not attend the church. Had the victim on the road to Jericho found in the chief seats in the synagogue the men who robbed him without mercy, and at the altar the priest and Levite who looked upon him without pity, doubtless he would have gone his way sorrowful.

[CONTINUED NEXT MONTH.]

"I wonder," said the sweet young thing, "why a man is always frightened when he proposes?"

"That," said the chronic bachelor, "is the work of his guardian angel trying to hold him back."—Ex.

ADOPTION OF A GENERAL LABEL.

Address of Benjamin Wood before the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, Nov. 22, 1908.

MR. PRESIDENT AND DELEGATE:

It affords me much pleasure to be with you and to discuss in a minor way the conditions which have been and are at the present time stirring the atmosphere surrounding the laboring world. I have seen this atmosphere calm and beautiful as the starry heavens on a moonlight night and I have likewise seen the elements so stirred by opposing forces that the skies looked scowling and foreboding like a storm at sea.

It was more than seven years ago that I wrote "Bugle Calls," a book in advocacy of trades unions and the use of the union label on every product made by human hands. Since that time I have never tired of the subject. Something seemed to fascinate me with the problem. Unlike others I recognized no natural antagonism existing between capital and labor, but appreciated that each had its hope for betterment in a mutual understanding which would result in a harmonious unity working for the common good.

In the remarks to follow I shall try to convey in as few words as possible, the object, purpose and benefits to be derived from a general label, hoping thereby to inculcate the spirit of unity and good will among all workers, to bring about a closer and more sympathetic understanding of each other's burdens and a gentler and more tolerant Christian feeling between man and man. The success of capital and labor working hand in hand, if it come at all, must come slowly and gradually; the progress onward and upward must be made step by step, and nothing is to be gained save at the sacrifice of whole-nearted devotion and loyalty on the part of the entire laboring people.

The foundation of all prosperity and of all progress is based on confidence. The moment we undermine that confidence we invoke everything into endless conflict. Capital legitimately employed should be entitled to the protection of the laborers and to the protection of the law. Labor honestly performed should receive its full reward and the conditions surrounding the laborer should be consisent with the demands of modern civilization.

The contest between capital and labor is a duel in which the weapons are intellect and opportunity. The one which fails to employ both dexterously goes

down deteated. On the part of labor the label represents brains, the purchasing of it the opportunity. Both sides enter the contest with eyes wide open. It is the survival of the fittest. Let labor play the game for all it is worth. Give no quarter, ask no quarter, abide by the result. Right is might and justice wins.

The Chinese of San Francisco believing in prevention rather than cure, employ the services of a doctor throughout the year, paying such doctors in installments as long as well and stopping payments when sick. Numerous corporations employ the services of counsel to avoid legal entanglements, rather than extricate themselves from trouble after being entangled in the meshes of the law. Many of our citizens believe it prudent to have a large navy to keep our country in peace, rather than to conquer in war after blood has been shed and lives sacrificed. For the same obvious reasons which resolve themselves down to that of protection, it is advisable for the American Federation of Labor to adopt a general label to keep the members of that organization employed at good wages, rather than to have any branch inaugurate a strike or a boycott, because the members feel they are not properly remunerated. If the importance of the purchasing power of labor is rightly estimated, it will peacefully solve many of the problems which now take years of toil to accomplish.

I am not in favor of violence, and I am sure that more than ninety-nine per cent of the members of the American Federation of Labor are opposed to it, yet we all recognize that if union men are to make the fight for better conditions and lie supinely on their backs while non-union labor receives the spoils, then the non-unionist, like a huge leech, like a human vampire, would be sucking the life blood from the arteries of union men's efforts. Were labor to permit the unemployed men of our country to underbid their wage and thereby take away their occupation, the selling of work to the lowest bidder would soon follow. Hungry men would be pitted against hungry men in a shameful competition that would reduce all labor, skilled or unskilled, to a condition bordering on slavery.

A strike is not always the proper adjuster. It is frequently a great undoer. Labor builds up a lofty structure and when it is completed, the strike destroys

it. Labor invents a unique and great device for protection. The strike locks out the inventor and allows one non-unionist to capture its invention.

The inadvisability of resorting to strikes is well illustrated by the narrative of the old vermont farmer, who owned a flock of sheep. Among them was an old black ram which the farmer prized for sagacity and loyalty. One day a corporation decided to build a railroad through the farmer's ground, and when the road was completed an engine made a trial trip. As the steam horse came thundering down the road, the old black ram stood in the middle of the rails and · defied the engine. The next day the farmer, on making an inspection of the road, came across a few shreds of black wool lying here and there, and picking up one of the patches he apostrophized the departed in this wise: "Dear old ram, I admire your pluck, but damn your judgment."

Experience proves that it is far better to prevent a strike, or a reduction of wages, than to rectify it after it has occurred. No resumption of work or future increase of salary ever makes up for loss sustained in the past. A clog in any of the wheels which stop manufacturing or production causes stagnation and disaster.

Since the recent activity of the Injunction Law defeats to some extent the intent and purpose of a strike, it leaves labor with but one means of defensea general label, and that weapon, if properly used, will have an advantage over all opposing forces. Compression in one direction causes expansion in another. The Injunction Law wall eventually throw union men more completely on their own individual resources and the laboring people will learn to realize that in order to right a wrong it is not necessary to resort to violence, nor is it necessary to resort to the strike or the boycott. What is essential is that the laboring people be loyal to their own principles. They must all hang together, or else hang seperately.

The desire for a general label is no longer a mere aspiration. It is a stern reality, carrying out the Biblical interpretation or Joseph anticipating in the seven years of plenty, the seven succeeding years of famine, and reducing itself to the one element—that of protection, an element which has been present in the world as far as the history of man has been traceable.

A general label, if properly launched through an intelligent advertising campaign, will lead to a more equitable distribution of the proceeds of labor's toils. It will help to settle labor disputes, bring about more perfect conditions in workshops and influence legislation to pass good factory laws.

There is an old axiom which teaches that where two laborers seek one employer, the employer fixes the price of wages, but where two employers seek one laborer, the laborer fixes the price. Carrying out the wisdom of that axiom, the toilers, to be prosperous, must have two or more employers seek one laborer. This can only be attained through organized power, by each and every toiler becoming a full-fledged union man, buying only union-made products, and insisting that every commodity bear the union label.

Organized labor's greatest need is the whole-hearted support and education of the people toward its accumulation of power. No court of justice will deprive the people of the right to select the kind of goods which they buy. The education which is best calculated to build organized labor is that which teaches that the union label stands for justice and peace, and a higher plane of citizenship and morality. A general label is the tool by which the machine can speedily be constructed. On the highway of destiny a man meets no one but himself. thusiasm and earnestness are contagious. It is impossible to make others feel a sentiment unless you feel it yourself.

At present there are seventy-two different labels issued by the crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and I can safely say without fear of contradiction, that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred no trade unionist knows much, or for that matter anything at all, about the labels of other crafts. If the laboring people who should create the demand and who are to make the purchases of union-made goods are unfamiliar with the different characters of labels, and if the people studying and advocating them are ignorant of the multiplicity of emblems, how can labor expect the world at large to be conversant with the various designs or be impressed with their significance? No union should promote solely and exclusively the interest of its individual label. Each union should pursue a broad course of merging its interests with every other affiliated union, to the end that labor should grow in power in a solid and general way, with principles so broad and liberal that every mechanic will take pleasure in becoming a member of an organization representing strength and justice.

Apparently most trade unionists are in love with the design of their own label to the detriment of their and every other label, and at the sacrifice of the welfare of the American Federation of Labor. The love for individual labels is like the mythological story of the youth, who, fatigued with hunging, heated and thirsty, came to a fountain with water like silver, and as he stooped to drink, saw his own

image and thought it some beautiful water spirit. As he stood gazing with admiration at those bright eyes, those locks curled like the locks of Bacchus or Apollo, the round cheeks, the ivory neck, the parted lips, the glow of health and exercise over all, he fell in love with the reflection—the remection of his own face. He tried to tear himself away, but failed to do so, and while hovering over the brink of the fountain, gazing at the face he loved so tell, fell into the pool, was drowned, and so disappeared forever.

The same conditions exist with the various labels. Trade unionists seem to be so infatuated with the face of their own label that they cannot resign themselves to combine theirs and others into one general label. They do not realize that as the label is divided, so the label and labor falls. They prefer going on and on, looking into the fountain at the reflection of their label, until they like-

wise sink into oblivion.

The governing power of the label should be vested in the hands of the American Federation of Labor on the same principle as the postage stamp is in the control of the United States Government at Washington, and distributed from that point to all sub-stations. Were it so placed it would compel all craftsmen into harmonious action. No antagonism or jearousy would arise to givert the tendency to unity of purpose. Each local union has its place, quite true, but the American Federation of Labor covers the entire field and represents the grand and glorious work in which all are engaged.

It is commendable for workingmen to take pride in the particular label which represents their craft, and to do all that their courage may suggest to make the record of such label clear and brilliant, but union men have no right to ignore the fact that their label is part of the flag as a whole, and that every toiler from whatever place he hails and whatever trade he follows has a claim on his sympathy and co-operation. Every workman who is worthy of his calling is the comrade of every other toiler. Quarrels for precedence and invidious claims for superiority are merely so much aid and strength given to the opposite side. The moment labor finds a common interest, that moment good conditions will prevail and discords cease.

Fraternal organizations, such as Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Elks, and others, have some individual emblem or badge by which one member recognizes the other no matter in what part of the world he may be. Although the American Federation of Labor has an organization in the United States comprising a larger membership than any fraternal organization in the world, and reaching out to every city, town and village throughout the country, yet, it has no recognized emblem that answers as a bond of unity and a means of recognition for each and every affiliated craft. The successful business merchant has his trade-mark as a means of recognition, but, unlike labor, has created a demand for an individual trade mark as evidenced in "St. Jacob's Oil," "Omega Oil," "Uneeda Biscuit," and others too numerous to mention. Were labor to adopt a general label the design could be incorporated into a badge and worn as a button by each and every member of the American Federation of Labor. It would have a practical effect, serve as a bond of fraternity, act as a great acvertising medium, and compel the recognition of the public. Its influence would be widespread and in a short period of time not alone union men, but all people throughout the country would become acquainted with the trade-mark of labor.

At present each craft having a laber expends a large sum annually for advertising, in the endeavor to make their label known, but little good is accomplished because the problem is too complex, the labels too many and too diversified for mortal mind to grasp. With a general label the design would appear as clear in the minds of the purchasing public as any other well-known commercial trademark. A small amount could be charged in excess of the original cost w defray expenses and to create an advertising fund. An assessment of one dollar per capita levied and made payable in small installments of ten cents, would create an advertising fund of over two million dollars. With that sum the American Federation of Labor could begin an advertising campaign second to none in the country.

A general label will not weaken the authority, nor will it jeapordize the interests and positions of the representatives and advocates of labels. Additional employment will be created, as it will be necessary to establish a bureau of headquarters to properly advertise and distribute the label to all affiliated unions, who in turn will re-distribute it according to demand. All prejudices will be dropped, and the barber who cannot slap a label on a man's face after having shaved him and the bartender who cannot mix it with his drinks, will take the same interest in promoting the general label as those crafts which can affix it. All crafts will maintain their individuality as heretofore, because the name of each craft will be incorporated with that of the American Federation of Labor.

Labor must utilize every legitimate means to make its influence felt, consistently strive to uphold its friends and refuse to strengthen its enemies. The laboring people must show to the public

that they are sincere with the label and that they will not patronize the counters of non-union establishments. Through such actions will be carried an influence and example that no opposition can withstand. The power back of a general label will be fatal to small wages and long hours. Labor will move out of that decadence where men live like fish, the great devouring the small.

Treat the label like a business venture and make of it a business success. It is a commodity like other commodities. It is a trademark like other trademarks. It is produced by the hands of union labor on the same principle as a hand-kerchief or a suit of clothes is manufactured. It is on sale. Labor has the supply, therefore, labor must create the demand. Labor must tell what the label represents, remembering that the human mind is like a fertile field, and that if the seed is properly sown it will take root and grow and in due time the harvest will come.

The American Federation of Labor comprises a membership of over two million members, who in a body spend more than two billions of dollars annually to purchase the necessities of life. If this sum were expended on union-made articles, and a small royalty exacted by the American Federation of Labor for the use of its trademark, it would mean that back of every just grievance, labor would have the support of one of the strongest financial organizations in the world.

There is an interesting narrative told of a father who said unto his son as they walked along a country road "Look, child, there is a piece of horseshoe; pick it up." "Oh, no," replied the boy, "that's no good; it ain't worth the bother." The father quietly pocketed it, and at the next blacksmith shop sold the piece of iron for three farthings which he invested in cherries. As the walk continued in the

heat of the day, the child grew tired Perceiving this, his father dropped a cherry which the boy stooped to pick up to eat. He did this again with like result and continued until the last cherry was gone, when, turning to his son, he said: "Thomas, had you only picked up the horseshoe it would not have been necessary to stoop so many times to gather up the cherries."

Let this narrative convey the same moral with the label. Most union men pass the label by like the horseshoe on the road, and so continue to stoop and stoop for better conditions. The working people in general do not take the trouble to give the merchants who conduct their business without the label an object lesson on the purchasing power of labor by showing such merchants that there are others more to their liking. They fail to appreciate that the more that union labels are issued and the more that union purchases are made, the greater is the strength gained and power wielded. If the demand is created for merchandise with labor's trademark the merchants will carry the supply. Demand and supply are independent upon each other. If capital is unfair to labor, it will not be necessary to resort to violence, a strike or a boycott-merely withdraw the label until the matter in dispute is arbitrated and settled satisfac-

Labor must pledge itself anew, with stronger courage, deeper faith and more devoted consecration to the unfaltering pursuit of the wide usage of a general label. The tomorrow offers wonderful possibilities if the laboring people, fortified by the love of truth ,the spirit of sacrifice, animated by that faith which knows no fear and that hope which knows no despair, gird themselves for the work which lies before them and adopt a general label—"One for all and all for one."

RELATION OF RURAL POPULATIONS TO THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM.

BY JOHN HAYES BARNETT.

WHEN I come in contact with those in rural communities who disclaim all knowledge of the problems which confront the urban activities, it causes me to give some time to a study of "The Relation of Rural Districts to the Industrial Problem." This is the excuse I would offer for inflicting these reflections upon those who shall take the time to read them. It is a fact that the great questions which the urban man has to face are lost in the haze of distance to the average village and farm population.

They are not in touch with the vital things of city life. Frequently I have been informed, and that in all sincerity, that the problem of labor and capital is of little interest to the man in the country and small town, and he knows nothing of it.

To me it seems a very narrow view of life that loses itself in its immediate surroundings, and can see no vital interest to itself outside of its own narrow horizon. Selfishness lies not alone in refusing to give, but often it is a greater

mark of selfism to refuse to receive, especially to receive that which will broaden one's view of life and its widening influences and responsibilities.

One of the conditions which, to my mind, augments the difficulty of an early solution of the industrial problem is the oft-repeated confessions of men of affairs in our smaller places. "We have never come in touch with those things. We have no unions here, and consequently can know nothing of the question," is the way they usually state it. It might be said that as long as they do not come into touch with the problems they have failed to become factors in it, but it is my purpose to show the fallacy of such a line of reasoning. I believe organized labor has failed to grasp the real importance of rural populations as a factor in the struggle for industrial supremacy. Capital has realized the value of at least making an effort to give their side of the controversies which frequently agitate the industrial world. What has been the result? When men show any disposition to seriously discuss the situation it is generally to the disadvantage of the wage-earner. So I come to you with my message of "The Relation of Rural Populations to the Industrial Prob-

1. If the men of affairs are ignorant of the principles of unionism, if their sole knowledge of economics is such as they have learned in a study of men who have written from the standpoint of statistics regardless of the human element which is a large factor in the economic situation, how can we expect men of lesser opportunities to learn to know anything of these things? Yet these very men are recruiting the ranks of urban labor every day. They reach the cities with distorted, if any, ideas of what unionism is, and in consequence they are inclined to be antagonistic rather than open-minded on the subject. Let us look at the situation fairly: According to the census report for 1900 the per cent of urban total population has increased from 3.4 per cent to 33.1 per cent. While to a certain extent immigration has helped in this, yet a large part of the increase has been due to the movement of the rural population to the cities. This is shown by table XXXVI of the statistics of population for 1900. The North Atlantic division of states shows an actual loss of 238,865 in rural population. As opposed to this we find an increase in urban and semi-urban population of about four millions. Five states in the north central division show an actual rural loss of 138,315, as against an urban and semi-urban gain of over two millions. There are only two instances of urban loss of population: Nebraska shows a falling off of 52,085, and Nevada 4.011. I believe this proves that

a large per cent of the total increase can be traced directly to the movement of the rural workers to the cities especially when we realize that a large part of our new foreign population naturally gravitates to the country. Take the last two communities in which I have lived and we find good examples of the fact that the immigrants are crowding the American-born off the farms and out of the villages, with the natural result of increasing the movement cityward. Doon, Iowa, is fast filling up with Hollanders, and that without increasing the total population of the town, a place of about 600. The farms are passing into the hands of the same peoples. Zumbrota, Minn., where I now reside, has had the same experience with the Scandinavian speaking peoples. Yet such places as these have been left in ignorance of the problems of the city, while their young people, and many of the older ones, are becoming a large factor in making the solution of the problem more difficult.

2. Our rural men of moderate means are also wending their way cityward, and investing their money. They are becoming the urban employers of labor. They often know nothing and care less about the problems until such time as they have become employers. They then only see the many questions that are involved from the one standpoint, that of the one who furnishes the capital. With this distorted view he naturally becomes an impediment to the early solving of the difficult problem of how to bring about industrial peace. Frequently his only view of a living wage is such as he has gained in a community where commodities are disposed of at half the price they bring in the city market. His view of a work day that is reasonable is formed by his knowledge of hours of labor existing upon the farm. He can see no just reason why things should be different in the factories. His view of child labor is founded upon the conditions existing in the small corner of the earth where he has lived. Has he ever seen children injured by laboring on the farm? Not that he knows of. Why then should so much ado be made about keeping the boys and girls from laboring and earning something? Of course the children in the rural districts had a chance to attend school during the winter. Why not have the city boys and girls do the same, or if that were not possible have them attend the night schools that are so plentiful? They know nothing of the wear and tear upon the nervous system of the young laborers. Nothing of the irksomeness of ten to twelve hours a day locked up in a building whose atmosphere is vitiated. Of course the farm children have plenty of fresh air, but how little do our rural magnates realize that the air of a factory building has lost its

purity, and how often it is disease laden. We can not attribute their lack of sympatny to hard-heartedness. It is simply a lack of appreciation of the actual conditions. They do not mean, always, to be cruel, if they knew the conditions as they are many would endeavor to right them. They look upon the agitation they meet in the cities as merely the work of demagogues, so why should they pay any heed to what is said? The fact is, they are busy men and have not the time to investigate for themselves. This being the case, they are willing to take the representations of the men who are handling their investments, and we know this is not a safe course to pursue.

this is not a safe course to pursue.

3. Another phase of the "Relation of Rural Populations to the Industrial Problem" is the fact that the farmer, the village merchant, sees no connection between the prices of produce and the industrial conditions in the urban districts. Of course he realizes that the market value fluctuates with the changes brought about by the demand. Yet to the average rural man there is no vital connection between the labor market in far off Chicago, Philadelphia or New York. They only dimly seem to realize something of this in a panic like that of 1893. Its lesson is forgotten as soon as business picks up again.

4. The problem before the friends of fair conditions today is that of impressing the residents of the rural districts with the fact that one part of society can not suffer without all feeling it. To cause them to see the difference between the conditions as they exist on the farm or in the village and those of the city. To give them a true view of the factory life, that it is not a kindergarten for the training of children through play.

The question then arises, How may this be done? I have a few suggestions to make along this line, and offer them for what they are worth. I realize the work can not be accomplished in a day, or a year, but will take time and patience. There may even be times when it will seem useless to go on, but that will be just the time to work the harder, and I am sure results will come.

My plan, briefly, is this: Let all the organizations of labor join together in the forming of a bureau of education. Let them place a competent, conservative man at its head. He should be a man of broad views, one who can see the ethical phases of the questions involved and give expression to them. He should be a man whose zeal for the cause he represents does not run away with his better judgment.

This bureau should be given the power and means that it might propagate a true view of unionism and its purposes. This could be done through getting in touch with the various local rural papers.

The managers of the papers should be approached and shown the value of the matter as a space filler. Where they felt they could not go to the expense of the composition, arrangements might be made to furnish it in plates for the mere cost of transportation.

The secretary of the bureau should be in touch with conservative speakers that could be sent into communities as requested to present the issues from an ethical standpoint. No one should be used in this connection that is the least demagogic, or one-sided. The expenses could be met by each organization represented in the bureau using a portion of its defense fund. This would be a legitimate use of the money, as the best defense after all is the enlightenment of public sentiment on the questions involved, and that before war measures are necessary. The more thorough knowledge of these things gained by our rural populations insures the more power to solve the problems.

As a concluding thought I would suggest that while this bureau might be a branch of the American Federation of Labor, I believe better service would be rendered if it was untrammeled by such relation. It would be better to have the secretary amenable to either the presidents of the various national bodies or to a board composed of one member from each national organization, such board selected by the suffrage of the rank and file. But I believe that this could be delegated to the presidents acting for their organizations.

THE SCAPEGOAT.

If anybody comes in late
To dinner and don't shut the gate,
Or doesn't sweep the porch or go
Bight out and shovel off the snow,
Or bring in wood, or wipe his feet,
Or leave the woodshed nice and neat—

It's me!

If anybody doesn't think

To carry out the cow a drink,
Or tracks mud on the kitchen floor,
Or doesn't shut the cellar door,
Or leaves the broom out on the stoop.
Or doesn't close the chicken coop—
It's me!

If anybody doesn't bring
The hammer in, or breaks a thing,
Or dulls the ax, or doesn't know
What has become of so-and-so
That's lost for maybe six weeks past;
If anybody had it last—

It's me!

If anything is lost or gone.

They've got some one to blame it on;
I get the blame for all the rest
Because I am the little-est;
And if they have to blame some one
For what is or what isn't done—
It's me!

-W. Foley, in the New York Times.

FRESH AIR.

BY E. GEORGE LINDSTROM.

man who is engaged in any of the useful or necessary occupations in life, and who embraces the opportunity of bettering his own condition and that of humanity by fighting tuberculosis in his craft, thereby hitches his chariot. No student without a to a star that will bias will dare to lead to deny security.

Now that a propagation has been launched in the state of New York for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis we should take it upon ourselves to aid materially in this great cause in the interest and welfare of ourselves and those about us.

An abundant supply of fresh air in our homes, our place of business and the minimization of the deplorable sputum habit would mean the lessening to a great extent the diseases of the lungs and would prevent the possible adhesion of chronic and contagious diseases. people labor under a fictitious idea that the open window theory is a precarious and dangerous undertaking, especially so in the vicissitude of seasons. This question is vitally momentous and we should see to it that we get fresh air both day and night. Weak lungs, sickly adults and puny, ailing children are the inevitable consequences of improper breathing, lack of fresh, pure air and proper exercise, therefore are subject to a great measure to attacks of pneumonia and consumption. Stand erect, throw back your shoulders and practice deep breathing outdoors every chance you get. Breathe through your nose and chest, not your mouth and stomach. To prove this theory watch the respiration of a new born bape and note how far you have drifted from nature.

I often wonder how many people understand the value of fresh air and the vital powers of the lungs. Take, for an example, the stature of a man about five feet six inches in height. It is said that he inhales on an average of 230 cubic inches of air, equal to one gallon. Just think of a person embibing at every deep inhalation a gallon of stale air, often polluted with fumes and dust. If so many cured consumptive patients are now

sleeping in tents and in the open air, perhaps the rest of us who are constantly kicking are only injuring ourselves by

adopting the opposite course.

Mechanics who work on the inside admit freely and without the slightest hesitancy the vast importance of fresh air and the elimination of the sputum habit. Is it not nauseating to note the essence of tobacco, mucus and catarrhal deposits on the floor and in the corners? We realize, however, this is not done consciously and with malacious intent, but from mere lack of forethought. Are we not scrupulous and intelligent enough to admit the fact that where there is filth there must be germs-of some sort? Are we so busy and so interested in the mad rush for success that we have no time to ponder over the dangers that lurk about us, and the advisability of an immediate relief from the ills that threaten us? Why not all join in the good cause by demanding and utilizing the service of cuspidors? Sufficient there of should be conveniently placed to accommodate those addicted to expectoration, and they should be used consistently for the good and welfare of men and to better the existing shop conditions.

Procrastination is the thief of time. Begin NOW to be more solicitous about your health.

A CALL.

For Funds for the Defense of the Appeals in the Pending Injunction Proceedings Against the American Federation of Labor.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 18, 1909. .
To Organized Labor, Its Friends and Sympathizers—Greeting:

The American Federation of Labor, as its name signifies, is a voluntary body composed of national, international and local unions, each of which attends to its own trade business, financial and otherwise, and retains its complete and individual authority and autonomy, while the relationship and purpose of the Federation to the affiliated bodies is to assist them in carrying out trade betterment, to take the initiative in introducing and urging the passage of desirable legislation, and to promote the general welfare. It is thus seen that the American Federation of Labor can not be considered as holding or having funds in the ordinary routine of its business for unusual purposes. A most unusual and important event has occurred in which extra funds

are essential, and an earnest appeal for financial aid is herewith made to you, which will no doubt meet with your

prompt and liberal response.

You know that Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison have been declared guilty of violating an injunction issued by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, and that Justice Wright, of that court, has sentenced them to terms of imprisonment of twelve, nine and six months, respectively. Pending an appeal they are out on bail. The original injunction issued on the application of the Buck's Stove and Range Company has been appealed to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, and we have authorized our attorneys also to take an appeal against Justice Wright's decision.

We hold that Messis. Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison have not violated the terms of the injunction, but instead have exercised their right of free press and free speech. These are cardinal principles guaranteed by the constitution of our country and by our states, and to the maintenance and perpetuity of which we pledge and will exert our every effort.

As stated, there are now two appeals pending. One upon the original injunction and the other from Justice Wright's decision. Should an adverse decision be reached in either, or both appeals, it will be essential to make further appeals to the Supreme court of the United States. Surely no member of organized labor or other fair-nimed man can rest content unless the principles involved in these cases are determined by the highest tribunal in our land.

We have already expended large sums in these cases, and the plaintiff's attorneys have not only boasted of causing such large expenditures on our part, but have asserted "there are more to come."

We have exceptionally able attorneys in Honorable Alion B. Parker and Messrs. Ralston and Siddons, who will carry the cases to their logical and final conclusion, but ample funds must be provided to permit this to be done.

From the expressions of our fellowworkers and friends in all walks of life we find that they are in absolute accord with us in the determined stand taken by Messrs. Gompers, Mitchell and Morr.son in the assertion of their and our inalienable rights of free press and free speech and the determination that these cases be presed to final conclusion. Of course, we will fight for our rights through every legitimate and constitutional chan which our system of legislation and " " n or edure permits, to rectify the inj the of which we complain, and in the mountime, in having these cases appeare and determined, we are confident that we are pursuing the course mif to the men of lawhich cor bor and other finds of human justice.

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. In order to permit of proper defense of liberty and freedom as guaranteed to all citizens, WE APPEAL TO ALL LABOR AND TO ALL FALENDS, to make financial contributions for legal defense in these cases before the courts. President Gompers and his colleagues are on trial for your rights co-equally with their own, and every liberty-loving citizen in or out of the ranks of labor should consider this situation and appeal as their own personal concern, and response should be made accordingly.

Upon the injunction abuse the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor declared "That we will exercise all the rights and privileges guaranteed to us by the constitution and laws of our country, and insist that it is our duty to defend ourselves at all hazards." This appeal for funds is issued in accordance with that declaration.

Send all contributions to FRANK MOR-RISON, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, 423 G street northwest, Washington, D. C., who will acknowledge and receipt for the same and make due accounting thereof.

Sincerei; and fraternally yours,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
Attest: President.

Frank Morrison, Secretary.
James Duncan, 1st Vice Pres.,
John Mitchell, 2d Vice Pres.,
James O'Connell, 3d Vice Pres.,
Max Morris, 4th Vice Pres.,
D. A. Hayes, 5th Vice Pres.,
Wm. D. Huber, 6th Vice Pres.,
Jos. F. Valentine, 7th Vice Pres.,
John R. Alpine, 8th Vice Pres.,
John B. Lennon, Treasurer,

Executive Council American Federation of Labor.

THE RULER.

BY ADELAIDE PROCTOR.

I saw a ruler take his stand
And trample on a mighty band;
The people crouched before his beck;
His iron heel was on their neck.
His name shone bright through blood
and pain—

His sword flashed back their praise again.

I saw another ruler rise—
His words were noble, good and wise.
With the cal scepter of his pen
He ruled the mind and thoughts of men.
Some scoffed, some praised, while many
heard—

Only a few obeyed his word.

Another ruler then I saw:
I ove and sweet pity were his law;
The greatest and the last had part
(Yet most the unbappy) in his heart:
The people in a mighty band
Rose up, and drove him from the land!

WHAT ARE OFFICIAL DUTIES?

BY ROBERT BURTON BRUCE.

Labor's unrest is due, say the capitalist, to certain acts of labor officials: that these acts are unauthorized and unrecognized by the respective bodies, being wholly foreign and not germane to organized labor's aims and purposes. While it is true that duty in prescribed form does not delegate unlimited authority, none can be performed without some direct responsibility. Recently a number of official heads of national labor unions. were asked what, in their opinion, constituted each officer's proper duty, assuming that the principal officers of a national labor union organization are its president, secretary and its treasurer. No official opinion was asked or deemed necessary. All answers received were officially signed. Each letter was individually, not official addressed, yet it seemed that certain recipients never heard of the excellent rule of that classic, erudite journalist and editor, John H. Holmes, of the "Boston Herald," which immediately acknowledged, by either personal or authorized response, the receipt of every letter, communication, manuscript or paper, the assurance being included that, if the import suggested, further consideration might be expected. One errs in any silence over what may be for good or for evil, especially if there be a false statement, which, if it go unquestioned, soon gathers strength, scatters the poison of its animus and triumphs easily over tardy denial.

The "raileurs" were as amusing as their "facetiae" was delightful. One told us to "Go to Hell," but falled to locare his residence. Others to "Mix in with Jere J. Sullivan." "Ask Gompers," "The Supreme Court of Wall Street," and "that most renowned manufactory of falsehood, The National Association of Manufacturers not boycotted by its officers." We were assured of an answer "when Taft is elected President by union labor votes." No limit was intimated as to length of replies and only that an epitome was serviceable was revision and the blue pencil necessary. Real true interest centers in those replies which develop the value and importance of our inquiry.

It has been said, and it will again be said this fall, purely for poltical effect, that organized labor was largely instrumental in throwing upon the country the dull times not yet gone from our business spheres. Hidden behind our inquiry was this false statement. Unconscious of its secretion our correspondents form a very solid line of attack.

"I have always urged," says one of the most conservative officials, "respect for law and order, but I know men who claimed to be, but were not, union members to violate moral and civil law at the instigation of capitalists, employers and business leagues and associations. and yet their crimes and misdemeanings were charged against union labor. this proper in any citizen of any calling, profession, trade or station? All our efforts are for the welfare of the workingman, and often have I felt it was one of my proper, moral and official duties to puncture the tire of such unscrupulous scoundrels as violate law and persuade faint-hearted members to weaken us in such dastardly ways."

"Removing," says a hardly less impassioned officer, "the political aspect of your inquiry, it is my opinion that the upbuilding of his union by every fair, honorable and legitimate means constitues not only a proper but one of the most important duties of a union official. Individual considerations and personal preferences should be laid aside when a multitude or a community of industrial interests are at stake. No body of men will follow a weak, halting leader. It is his duty as it is theirs, to be bold, brave and courageous, especially when human and humane interests move them, and it was such interests that moved Washington, Lincoln and McKinley; and such interests are those of the wage-earners of today."

Another correspondent gives expression also to some very noble sentiment. "The duties of all labor leaders are backed by right and reason, and if justice prevailed the public would find them proper, legiti-mate and authorized by the laws of industry and economy. Union officers must and do, as they should, perform many duties not prescribed by organization laws, but none are inconsistent or improper. I believe I have a right, moral and constitutional, to confer with and persuade my fellow toilers regarding any condition which I may think is for the betterment of the working people. If I do not wish to buy or use or recommend the purchase of any stove, range, hat, cap or bonnet, or any other article made or sold by any person or persons unfair to me as a workingman, I discriminate against no one but my enemy. Is this an improper act or duty? Is it any more than for manufacturers and employers to publicly and privately discuss questions effecting their incomes, which the scale of wages does? I must decline answering and individuating, however important, a question that comes before me, preferring every union officer and member to so construe his acts as in line

of duty to and with his cause."
"I have laid aside all muscular work for purely mental and physical toil," says the next writer, "and it consists in keeping the association's books correct in every particular. But our monthly journal is also in my charge, and in that I look out for the good of our union and all other unions, and against the damnable efforts of courts and Van Cleave and his associates to overthrow union labor and its organizations. These are among my duties, most of which are required by our laws and those that are not are implied or are suggested by circumstances or emergencies, but I consider none of either class improper in any sense whatever."

"The presidential office," declares one of the big fighters, "is the fountain head of all responsibility in a general sense. Anything done officially, or while in office, and it pertains to the trust bestowed, is, in my opinion, a proper duty. Many a duty is painful in its performance, but when it lies under promise, pledge or obligation and is not perform-

ed, all honor is sensibly violated."

The writer of the last preceding letter presents a remarkable insistence; that "trade unionism is a form of religion and should be preached from the pulpits of God as a doctrine of divine inspiration." Inasmuch as the insistence is susceptible to broad discussion and is not pertinent to our inquiry, it is given mention because of its curious, though not

odd, theory.

"It is a constant duty," says one of the youngest officers, "of every union man to have a care for his organization. If he is an officer, his union should stand next to his family, his God above both. It may worry and wear and cost him much, for it is an absolute fact that many in office would work less but earn more at their respective trades or followings, where union wages prevail, than is paid them for their official labor. Many an old member has been impressed with the idea that his ability and experience are such as to enable him to grasp situations, born and unborn. I thought so, but have since found that new duties with new and different phases arise every day and round into formidable surprises. In some cases existing laws have not anticipated either the necessary action or their possibilities. Decision rests upon what is, not upon what was or might be, for sometimes the circumstances present an alternative which relegates every doubting Thomas and soliloquizing Hamlet to merciful institutions for the weakminded. A firm, alert, impartial administration is often poorly supported, understood and construed; there should

be no swapping in the middle of the stream, especially when the tide of opposition is rolling and rising with dangerous force—a condition that encounters union labor today. A few, fortunately a very few, presidents-unfortunately, many secretaries—have upon them the task of publishing, managing and editing official journals. Special fitness occasionally and the necessity of economy often recommend the course, but my observation is that it is not always wise, prudent or safe. The president should have his page, but should not be expected to discuss each and every issue crowding the thoroughfares of passing

thought.

"The constitution of our brotherhood prescribes the official duties of our officers. Any act which any one, or all collectively, takes is subject to review by our executive board, or our general convention meeting in biennial session. Appeal is never denied, but our laws prescribe when, how and by whom one may be taken. Besides, our laws are made to cover proper and improper acts, approbating one and condemning the other, for certainly it would be inconsisent, with moral character and reputation to do the former for both—the ill logic is too apparent. Frankly, I doubt whether I can answer your inquiry, omitting even its limiting adjective, but I believe it is save to say that it is one of the most important and proper duties of every labor officer and member to vote against every candidate in the political field whose record is unfriendly to union la-

"My nearly ten years of official life," says a thoughtful officer, "have shown me duties and responsibilities that must be considered proper and consistent. My guess is you wish to find out where the smart fellows are—ask some of those who wear the hypenated title of Secretary-Treasurer — General Organizer -Business Agent-Advertising Man-Orator - Public Speaker-Editor-Leading Writer-Wedding, Birth, Obituary, Annunciation and Resolution Maker and Bad-Debt Collector, for a bill was sent to one of these hypens whose record verified the fact that the debtor had died a decade previous and left his property in his wife's name." And this reminded us of the fellow, a royal one, by the way, who was said to be "bluff but never bluffing," but always good on the guesswhen the thing was in sight.

"The man at the helm," responds an old-timer, "is the man of manifold duties, and in a national or international labor organization he is its president. It is not only his duty but those below him to be watching the course of his organization and keeping it away from the breakers: to keep in his own mind and that of every member those principles

which go to make up good citizenship and prompt efforts to secure and maintain peace and harmony between capital and labor, between employer and employe, and finally to establish in the minds of the toiling masses the justice of a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. Briefly answering your inquiry, it is my construction that specifically the duties of labor union officers are, in their prescription, consistent and proper and, in application and acceptance, perfectly fair and within reason."

Regret obtains that one reply is omitted because of its great length and passionate remarks. We believe it is an exception. The correspondent's union had had a number of strikes, one of which has been long, weary and burdensome. The replies here digested will undoubtedly be read with interest, since they correct false impressions within and without the ranks of organized labor and relieve many a faithful officer of unjust conceptions of what he should not or should do.

IS GOMPERS IN CONTEMPT?

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN in The Commoner.

The fining of Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison by Justice Wright, of the District of Columbia, is likely to focus attention upon the subject of injunctions as nothing else could do. This is really a controversy between a large corporation and its employes, and the writ of injunction is being used to assist the corporation in its contest against those who were employed by it. In order to further its cause and to obtain an advantage against the workmen, the stove company secured the injunction restraining the American Federationist (the of-cial organ of the rederation of Labor), "or any other printed or written newspaper, magazine, circular, letter or other document or instrument whatever,' from referring to the complainant, its business or its business product in the "we don't patronize" or "unfair" list, etc.

Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Morrison were accused of violating this injunction, and sentenced to imprisonment; the case is being appealed to the higher courts, and full discussion of the principles involved will be delayed until final decision. However, as the corporation papers are loudly condemning Mr. Gompers and his associates and insisting that they ought to have obeyed the restraining order whether constitutional or not, it is worth while to present the side of the defendants. The restraining order was believed by Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Morrison to be an unconstitutional interference with the right of free speecn, and a court decree which violates the constitution is null and void just as an unconstitutional statute is null and void. Now, how could the unconstitutionality of this decree he tested? Two ways were open. The defendants could have obeyed it and contested it at the time of the hearing. taking an appeal in case of an adverse decision, but this course would have left the stove company in possession of the field; it would have given it the advantage pending the litigation, and with this advantage, the corporation might have won its fight against the employes before a final decision could have been obtained. It might have dismissed its suit, after winning its contest, and left the defendants without even the advantage of a final decision sustaining their position.

There was another method of testing the injunction, and this they adopted. They condemned the decree as unconstitutional and protested against such interference with the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press. denied doing the things specifically enjoined, but that question is not so material as the question whether they had a right to test the constitutionality of the order by the disobedience of it. Let the case be stated as favorably as possible for the stove company; let it be assumed that Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Morrison deliberately disobeyed the order issued by the judge on the ground that it violated the constitutional guarantees which surround freedom of speech and freedom of the press. these men to be condemned for thus testing the question by disobedience?

Judge Parker, their counsel, calls attention to the effort that is being made to invest a judicial decree with a sacredness superior to that which surrounds a statute, and he is perfectly right in insisting that a statute enacted by a legislature and approved by an executive officer is entitled to as much respect as an order issued by a judge. And yet nearly every statute which is passed is tested by disobedience, and where the statute is directed against a corporation, it is expected that it will be tested by disobedience. The newspapers which hold the labor leaders up

to public condemnation because they violated a judicial order think it entirely proper that the great corporation shall await a judicial construction of a statute before obeying it. It is never suggested by such papers that a corporation is doing anything disreputable when it disputes the constitutionality of a law and violates the law in order to secure a decision upon that point. Why should the labor leaders be treated more harshly than the heads of corporations?

Not only do the managers of corporations test the constitutionality of law by disobedience, but public officials constantly do so. A case in point is recalled. About twenty-one years ago the city council of Lincoln, Nebraska, was investigating charges made against a police magistrate. The attorneys for the police magistrate secured a temporary suspension of the investigation and before the investigation was resumed, secured from Judge Brewer, then on the circuit bench of the United States, an order restraining the city council from the removal of the offending of-The restraining order was made returnacie at a date about two months away. If the council had followed the advice now being given to Mr. Gompers and his associates it would have awaited for two months and then, if the temporary injunction had been made permanent, it would have taken an appeal, and possibly by the time the magistrates term expired, or a few years afterwards, a final decision could have been secured. But the mayor and council, believing that Judge Brewer was interfer-ing with the constitutional right of the city authorities, proceeded to violate the injunction by continuing the investiga-tion and removing the official. They were cited before Judge Brewer for contempt, and because of the prominence of the defendants, a fine of \$600 was imposed on all but two of them who, for special reasons, were fined only \$50. The defendants, with one exception, refused to pay the fines and went to jail, while their attorney presented the matter to the United States Supreme Court. The court decided that Judge Brewer exceeded his authority in issuing the order; that the order was void; and that the defendants acted within their rights in refusing to obey the order. The defendants were, therefore, discharged. The one councilman who, because of illhealth paid his fine rather than go to jail, recovered the fine by an act of Con-

This case is reported in the United States Court Reviews, "ex parte: in the matter of Andrew J. Sawyer, et al., petitioners;" volume 124, page 200.

There are many other cases that might be cited, but here is one involving a constitutional right. If public officials are justified in deliberately violating an injunction in order to test its constitutionality, why should Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Morrison be condemned for resorting to the same method of testing the constitutionality of a restraining order which, in the opinion of the defendants, violated the constitutional rights of themselves and the large body of men for whom they acted?

If the Supreme Court sustains the position taken by Justice Wright, it becomes the law of the land until the decision of the court is reversed or until Congress enforces the guarantees of the constitution.

This case also shows the imperative necessity for legislation which will give trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

Is it not time for a congressional limitation of the power of the court in matters of temporary injunction? Is it not time for legislation along the lines of the Democratic platform? It seems impossible to arouse the public to the need of a reform until someone has suffered. Every step in advance has behind it the suffering of some for others. Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Morrison are to be commended rather than condemned that they are willing to suffer, if by their suffering they can secure to their fellowlaborers protection from the increasing injustice which comes from the arbitrary issuance of injunctions. The President has already pointed out in his message that the writ of injunction has been abused, and he has warned Congress that these abuses, if not corrected, will lead to a revolt against even the legitimate use of the powers 'n the equity court. The Republican national platform, while seeming admit the need of remedial legislation, employed deceptive language, and the adoption of that platform was hailing during the campaign as a triumph for the corporations in their contest against their employes. It will be remembered that Mr. Van Cleve, who is back of the stove company's prosecution of the labor leaders, issued campaign documents appealing to the business men to support the Republican ticket because the Republican convention rejected the petitions of the labor organizations. It will be but poetic justice if the prosecution which Mr. Van Cleve has started results in the very legislation which he opposes, and yet this is not only the natural result, but it is a result to be desired.

THE FINANCIAL BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

SAMUEL C. MOFFETT, in Collier's Weekly.

It was just thirty-eight years this July since two great powers, each knowing the other to be such, have engaged in war. Russia fought Japan, but she did not know it until too late that Japan was a great power. War scares have abounded. Venezuela, Fashoda, Dogger Bank, Morocco, and Macedonia have set the alarm bells jangling, but always the din has died away, the snarling war dogs have laid their heads on their paws and gone to sleep again, and only the mounting bills for almaments have been left to remind us that peace has been in danger. Although they never before trained as many men or spent as much money in preparation for fighting, the great powers of Europe have succeeded in keeping their hands off each other's throats longer than they ever did in their whole previous history, and it is quite possible that they may never fight again.

What does this mean? Are religion and philanthropy taking possession of the chancelleries of the world? It seems hard to believe it. There never was a time when the aspirations of most of the powers were more frankly commercial. Perhaps Mammon is doing something for humanity after all.

Formerly when one country fought another it was "woe to the vanquished." As an invading army seared its way through fields and towns, trampling down crops and burning houses, it was the enemy's property it was destroying. When merchant ships were sunk at sea, the loss fell upon the nation whose people owned them. But now the strands of ownership are laced around the world. Every nation is a part proprietor of every other. Not long ago one of the magazines shudderingly pictured the horrors of a Cerman bombardment of New York. If such a catastrophe should occur every shell would knock a hole in the dividends of a German corporation. German banks, insurance, steamship, and trading companies are heavily interested in New York real estate. The shares of American railroad, public service, and industrial corporations are largely held in Germany. If a merchant ship were sunk at sea, the loss would fall not upon the owners, but upon underwriters, who might be of any nationality. Even the war weapons of almost every civilized country in the world have been paid for by bonds which are held everywhere. So America has helped to build battleships for Janan, and England has helped to provide rapid-firing field grass for a possible German army of inva ... And when there is talk of war between the United States and Japan some of the first sufferers are American holders of Japanese bonds, who see a point or two knocked off the price of their securities in the market. If the danger seemed to be really acute, loans on these securities would be called, and Wall Street would suffer in all its nerves in sympathy with the distress of Tokyo.

It has been estimated that the French people have about \$9,000,000,000 invested in foreign countries. The English have more. The Germans have several billions of foreign investments. Americans own a large part of the Britsh mercantile marine. The International Mercantile Marine Company, an American corporation, owns ships under the American, British and Belgian flags. Four hundred thousand shares in the United States Steel Corporation are owned in Holland. The Chicago Great Western is owned chiefly in England, and Englishmen are among the largest stockholders in the Illinois Central, the Louisville & Nashville, and many other American rail-American capital has developed roads. the railroad systems of Canada and Mexico. When Dewey cut the Spanish cable at Manila, and Sampson at Santiago, it was an English company in each case tnat was the sufferer. When the Westinghouse Company of Pittsurg failed, the new electric railroads of St. Petersburg were tied up. When the Knickerbocker Trust Company of New York closed its doors, idle diamond cutters walked the streets of Amsterdam, diamond diggers ceased to work in South Africa, banks failed in Chile, the business of every great commo cial nation of Europe was thrown into cubiusion and the disturbance completed the demoralization of the finances of Japan.

Capital is the one truly international force of the modern world. In the Middle Ages the Church stood above kings; now the rulers of kings are the cosmopolitan financiers.

when an ancient king thought of going to war he first considered whether he could meet with ten thousand men him that came against him with twenty thousand. If the prospect seemed unpromising, he made peace quickly. Now the first question is whether the finance minister can raise a satisfactory loan if not, the war is off. And it happens that the very men who ...c. furnish the money for destruction are the owners of a good part of the property that is to be destroyed. Formerly there was vic-

tory and defeat; now there is only defeat, for whoever wins, business, which is the common interest of all mankind, must lose.

The universalizing of business which has already so profoundly influenced the relations of the peoples of the world is only in its infancy, but its development has gone far enough in some directions to Standard Oil Company and the Russian Oil Trust have divided the globe into two petroleum hemispheres. doubt that business will soon belong to a single corporation. The lines of the great English cable combination girdle the earth. Wireless telegraphy is carried on by companies whose sphere of action is the world. The sleeping cars of Europe and Asia are run by a single international company. As business in all countries passes more and more out of the control of individuals and into that of corporations, whose shares flit from hand to hand and from nation to nation in the markets, we may expect to see the field of ownership steadily broaden until the nationality of a company counts for no more than the fact now counts that it is domiciled in New When that time comes the brotherhood of man, which missionaries have been vainly preaching for nineteen hundred years, will have become in a business sense an accomplished fact. It will no longer make any difference whether a nation is strong or weak, invader or invaded. The wounds of one will be the wounds of all, and all alike will have to pay for war's destruction, wherever it may fall.

"If the red slayer thinks he slays,
Or if the slain thinks he is slain,
They know not well the subtle ways
I keep and pass and turn again."

Even in the romantic days of chivalry, people used to fight, not only because they liked it, but especially because they thought they could make something out of it. The fact that modern war is reaching the stage in which none of the parties to it can make anything, but all must inevitably lose, explains better than the growth of peace societies why nations are less willing to fight now than they ever were before.

We find ourselves, therefore, in this situation. situation. Every great nation in the world, and indeed almost every nation, great or small, is spending from a fifth to a third of its income on preparations for doing the greatest possible injury to its own people. It is as if the guests at a colored ball should go armed with razor-blades without handles, ready to begin the festivities by cutting their own hands. The statesmen of the world. who are commonly supposed to have a somewhat higher grade of intelligence, are spending thousands of millions of dollars in just that way. The suppression of the razor-budgets would transform the rocky roads over which most Finance Ministers are hobbling into flowery beds of ease. As long as war meant simply trying to injure one's neighbor the Golden Rule was powerless to stop it. Now that it means in juring one's self the Golden Rule is reinforced by practical sense.

THE BOYCOTT IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

Senator Spooner, Presidents Hadley and Eliot, to say nothing of Post, Parry and Van Cleave and other gentlemen who wax eloquent or nysterical in denouncing the boycott as "hostile to the spirit of American institutions," presume to forget the American history they must have learned in grammar school, if not at their mothers' knees. In fact, one of the most striking episodes of the early struggle for American independence took the form of a boycott—a boycott which directly affected innocent persons in order that through them it might strike and injure the real enemy—a boycott, it may be added, which involved coercion of "the disinterested public" and was even accompanied by physical violence.

When the British government resolved to make the American colonists contribute to the public revenues by imposing a slight tax upon tea and certain other articles imported into America, and yet refused to allow the colonists the rights of representation and self-government which they desired, the advocates of independence—who were then but a minority of the population, but a very active and efficient minority, as well as a growing one—did not confine themselves to passive resistance or moral suasion. They did not at once appeal to arms, because they knew they had not yet the strength to make such an appeal successful, and because they believed their purpose might be accomplished without actual insurrection.

The word "boycott" was then unknown. But the thing, by whatever name it might be called, suggested itself to the patriots as the best means to defeat the government, either by the home government to surrender its pretensions to tax the colonists without granting them representation or else by

provoking it to more drastic measures which would incite the masses of the colonial population to demand and work and fight for national independence.

Without any sanction of law-nay, in plain defiance of the law-they organized societies whose members were pledged not to buy a pound of tea or any other article upon which duty had been paid. They carried on a vigorous agitation to extend the membership of these societies and enforce their pledge. They did not stop with this. branded every man or woman who refused to accept the pledge and boycott duty-paying articles as an enemy of freedom and a traitor to colonial in-They made the name "loyalterests. ist" as odious as "scab" or "blackleg" has ever since become. They ostracized those who bought duty-paying goods, refused to trade with them, to give them employment, to maintain social inter-course with them, public satires and lampoons against them, mocked and insulted them in public meetings, in the streets, even in the churches, and by all means sought to compel those whom they could not persuade to join in the

In a double sense this policy worked injury to others than the British government, against which it was directly aimed. In so far as it succeeded in cutting off the sales of tea and other dutiable articles, it caused heavy loss to British and American merchants who had, in the ordinary course of their legitimate business, bought such goods and imported them and paid the duty on them as required by law. On a still larger scale did boycott injure vast numbers of colonists who cared nothing about independence or representation, who did not mind paying a few pence a year in taxes, and only wanted to be let alone to live their lives in their own

way, without meddling in politics or being meddled with by politicians. These were, against their own will, forced to take sides and either to share the hardships and help bear the burdens of the struggle for independence or else to endure persecution at the hands of the active patriots.

Nor did the boycotters stop even here. On more than one occasion they resorted to intimidation or violence against revenue officers, against merchants who submitted to the imposition of dutles, or against citizens who sympathized with the government. One particular riot committed by these boycotters has been immortalized in our school histories and in patriotic song and story and has been held up before us in our childhood days as a splendid example of civic virtue on the part of our Puritan forefathers, under the name of the Boston Tea Party.

The Boston Tea Party was an unlawful and violent assembly, a riot in the strictest sense of the word. Its object was to destroy property—and not the property of the British government, but that of certain lawabiding business men who wanted to carry on their own business in their own way." And its purpose was very effectually executed.

Far be it from us to decry the Boston Tea Party or to say a word in dispraise of those riotous boycotting forefathers of ours. We are as proud of them as any fourth grade school teacher or any frock-coated Fourth of July orator in the land. They adopted the necessary means to a desirable end—and they made a good job of it. That some personally innocent persons suffered loss or inconvenience was those innocent persons' misfortune and nobody's fault. As the French say, "You can't make an omelette without breaking eggs." And the omelette was worth what it cost.—New York Call.

RAYMOND ROBINS ON LABOR.

An address by Raymond Robins at Rochester, N. Y., early last month, was declared by the press of that city to have been the best given there in years. Mr. Robins was once a workingman himself, but is now the possessor of great wealth, because of success in the Klondike gold fields. He has studied economic and social conditions from all points of view, and comes out as the champion of organized labor, spending his money in social settlement work in Chicago, seeking to bring about better conditions for the workingmen and women. Taking for his subject, "Organized Labor and Social Progress," Mr. Robins declared that the

two great demands of organized labor were set forth as higher wages and shorter hours, and he scored what he termed the "scab labor employing group," which was "skinning labor at the bottom and the consumer at the top," illustrating how it was being done and showing the effect of low and high wages on any community.

On the question of a shorter workday, the speaker said it was a demand that could be easily vindicated, as had been shown by the investigations made by a royal commission in Great Britain. "We are producing manhood and womanhood, as well as dividends," declared

Mr. Robins, "but we won't produce dividends if manhood and womanhood fail." The British investigations proved that eight-hour man produces more wealth per hour, if he covers a long period of time, than the ten or twelvehour man, and that a large proportion of wasted material and broken machinery comes after the eight hours' work. Some of the things emphasized as having been accomplished by organized labor were the providing of sick and death

benefits, homes for superannuated workers, the campaign against tuberculosis, a demand for better sanitary conditions in factories, etc. A querulous listener wished to know of the speaker the value of a trade union in panic times, and he was tou: "It won't get you a job, because it can't make work. It can't do the impossible, but it will give you outof-work benefits and protection."-Typographical Journal.

ARE THE COURTS ABOVE THE CONSTITUTION?

To be Jailed for Exercising the Rights of Free Speech and a Free Press.

SAMUEL GOMPERS..... 12 Months JOHN MITCHELL..... 9 Months FRANK MORRISON..... 6 Months

E deeply regret the hardship and keenly resent the indignity which the courts propose to inflict upon President Gompers, Vice-President Mitchell and Secretary Morrison, who, as officers of the American Federation of Labor, and as good citizens, were compelled, in the performance of their duties and in defense of free speech and a free press, to disobey the injunction issued by Justice Gould forbidding them to write, print, or even mention that the Buck's Stove & Range Co. has been or is considered unfair by organized labor.

The defendants did not deny that they had failed to comply with the care.

had failed to comply with the order of the court, believing it to be void as it deprived them of rights guaranteed by the constitution of the United States.

Their contention was summarized by

Juage Parker as follows:

"If an act of Congress attempted to establish by statute the result which has been attempted here by order and the question were presented to the court, the court would say, you need pay no attention to it, it is wholly void. And so a decree of court which offends against the constitution is likewise wholly void, and need not be obeyed, for when the question of its enforcement comes up it would be precisely the same thing as an attempt to enforce a law of Congress which was declared unconstitutional, and both would be void. Each represents separate and distinct departments of the government, and neither has any power not conferred by the constitution, or as against the rights given by the constitution."

Judge Wright refused to consider this a sufficient defense. He declared that "even were the order confessedly erroneous, yet it must have been obeyed." It followed that he must find them guilty of contempt.

Whilst this outcome was expected the severity of the sentences created surprise and the tone of the decision was generally disapproved. Its vehemence was in striking contrast to the moderation of the defendants and their counsel. A like absence of hysteria has marked the criticism of the decision in the labor press and the speeches of men active in the movement which, while disagreeing with the court's conception of the prerogatives of judges and the rights of citizens, and expressing indignation at his irrelevant and sweeping denunciation of unionism, is calm and temperate. We have no energy to waste in invective, we must concentrate our strength in a determined effort to obtain from Congress and State legislatures permanent and adequate relief from the abuse of the injunction.

It is a relief to know that the issue is joined, that this long drawn out contention has reached a crisis. It is now to be decided whether the courts are to make law as well as administer it: whether we are to have government by injunction or whether that process shall be confined to its original and proper purpose and the powers of the judiciary be clearly defined so that the courts may resume their legitimate relation as coordinate with, and not superior to the executive and legislative departments of the government.

The issue is clearly drawn. It will not permit of postponement. It can not be compromised. The rights of free

speech and press must be preserved inviolate and absolute. The laws provide

ample remedy for their abuse.

The Appellate and Supreme courts will undoubtedly sustain the lower court. A reversal of its decision would mean surrender of usurped powers, the fruition of a century's patient and insidious effort.

The convicted men will refuse pardon for an offense of which they are innocent. Pardon would only be offered to calm the indignation of the workers and prevent or delay the settlement of this question

To win for American wage earners the right to peacefully persuade their friends and fellow workers not to work for or to buy from those who deny them justice, the right to speak, to write and to publish the truth without let or hindrance, the right to come together to discuss their rights and their wrongs, and to combine to peaceably obtain those rights and re-

move those wrongs—the right to do anything in combination which they may lawfully do as individuals—may involve the making of many sacrifices, the suffering of much humiliation, but men of the labor movement will not be found wanting. Nothing less than this measure of justice will make possible the continued existence and effectiveness of trade unions. With nothing less will we be satisfied, nothing less will we accept.

The leaders of the Republican party condemned the attitude of organized labor in the recent presidential campaign. They asserted that the rights and the interests of labor were matters of the utmost concern to them and could safely be left in their hands. The opportunity for them to demonstrate their sincerity is here.

Gentlemen of Congress and the State Legislatures, the issue is up to you!

What are you going to do about it?—The Painter.

EMBLEM OF JUSTICE.

A Clergyman Pays Noble Tribute to the Union Label.

IT is a pleasure to reproduce the following noble tribute to the union label by a Baltimore clergyman. Here is what he said:

"What can be more sacred, more holy or more deserving of the reverence of men or of the angels than the union label, which signifies that human life has been more highly valued in the production of human commodities than the mere profits sought for by greed?

"The label is an emblem of justice, of fraternity, of humanity. When you find a label on a garment, or box of cigars, or loaf of bread, or a piece of printing you can be sure that neither was made in a sweatshop, that no little children's fingers were compelled to sew or sort the tobacco in the hours of night intended for childish sleep. When you see this label on any commodity you can buy it with a clear conscience, knowing that in doing so you are not becoming a partner in an institution that degrades humanity to private profit. You can sleep soundly and not be worried with thoughts of typhus fever or smallpox or leprosy, which are so often scattered broadcast from Chinese opium joints, penitentiary convicts cells and tenement sweatshops, where the most degraded specimens of humanity put their lifes blood into marketable goods, from which the poor, unsuspecting public suffers all manner of foul and loathsome diseases.

"The union label is a religious emblem. It is a religious act to buy the goods to which this label is attached—an act blessed on earth and honored in heaven; while it is a sin to buy a cigar, a piece of clothing, a pair of shoes or a loaf of bread without this label, for then you do not know but you are building up the business of some heartless tyrant, who is extracting a fortune from the drudgery and degradation of his fellows at the risk of public health.

"God bless the label! And I hope that

"God bless the label! And I hope that all of you as you leave this house tonight will carry away indelibly impressed upon your minds the picture of the union label surrounded by angels and that you will always know that the favorite banner in heaven represents justice to labor, fresh air and sunshine and healthful conditions to those who toil and the truth that hu-

man life is of gold.

"I hold child labor the curse of our nation, responsible for the frequency of tuberculosis in childhood, young men and women, and last, but not least, responsible for alcoholism in the young. How can we expect the delicate growing system of a child, wrecked often by eight or ten hours' days labor, and in some instances even by long hours of night work, to resist the temptation of drink?"—Dr. A. S. Knoff.

TO MAINTAIN FREE SPEECH.

President Gompers says Organized Labor will Fight to Maintain Constitution Guarantees.

IN a letter to the Central Federated Union of New York City, read at the meeting of that body on Sunday last, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, expresses his appreciation of the efforts being made by organized labor to arouse public opinion against the suppression of free speech and free press by judge-made law.
The letter is as follows:

"Dear Sir and Brother: Permit me to thank you for your message. Many other friends, fellow workers and sympathizers in all walks of life have also telegraphed and written me, and while I would like to reply to each one, yet I find it impossible to convey in a letter all that is in my mind to say, and therefore I am making this acknowledgment of your message and to say to you that from the many communications of this character which have been sent to me, I believe I am right in saying that the great mass of the liberty-loving American people are with John Mitchell, Frank Morrison and myself, at this crucial time, in the effort we have made and are still making to maintain the principle of justice and

right, and the constitutional guarantees of the freedom of the press.

"Regardless of personal results, we are confident that the principles for which we contend, and for which we may suffer, will be restored, maintained and permanently guaranteed to all our people, the workers included. Temporary inconvenience or suffering of any one or of a few men is of lesser importance than the estalishment of equal justice to all the people of our republic.

"Under the circumstances and in view of my many duties, you will realize the impossibility of my dealing more fully with this subject in this communication.

"Wishing you the compliments of the season, and impressing upon you and all our friends the necessity of the time to more closely hew to the line, to devote ourselves unreservedly to our duties, and from now on to work harder than ever for the great cause of the common uplift, I am,

"Fraternally yours, SAMUEL GOMPERS. "President of the American Federation of Labor."

A UNION SONG.

BY MARGARET SCOTT HALL.

What of the Union? Far and wide We hear the herald chimes Of brotherhood and doing good And hopes for better times; Yea, it is wise to organize In bonds of union strong, And wide awake for labor's sake To help the cause along.

Throughout the land an impluse stirs On Hope's uplifted wings, A longing rife through toil and strife A wish for better things, Impelled by right when men unite And honor's course pursue, To ever bless in helplessness In union's purpose true.

Then Long live Union! May its strength For human good increase, Let none despise to organize Till graft and greed shall cease Then keep alive, let union thrive The toiler's home to bless, Sing as we fare and breathe a prayer The Union's grand success.

HUMAN KINDNESS.

Keep the spirit sweet within us For the task of helpfulness, Ever ready, ever willing, Where we may, to aid and bless; Grow not bitter in experience With ingratitude and greed, Just forgive the world's sad blunders Sympathizing with its need.

Keep the spirit sweet and tender, Happy with a cheerful song, Doing only good to others As through life we pass along; And the simple act of loving Will its own reward impart Peace will soothe and banish sorrow For the kind and pure in heart.

Keep the spirit sweet and gentle, Ever ready to do good. Faithful to all Christian purpose, And the cause of Brotherhood; Keep within our souls the leaven That makes earth like heaven above-For all creatures human kindness And Christ's ministries of love.

PRISON INDUSTRIES.

BY EDWIN R. WRIGHT.

The study of penal and reformatory conditions has not kept pace with other public questions. True, in Illinois the authorities have abolished the lock step and retain the stripes only for the third class men-convicts who have broken parole or guilty of other grave infractions of the prison rules. At Chester a splendid new dining hall has replaced the barbarous system of individual feeding in the cells, but only after thirty years. Thirty years is a long time to awaken the public to a realization of the brutalizing influence of a pan of unappetizing food eaten in a cell absolutely without plumbing or hygienic accessories. But an awakened conscience and the pleading of union labor has at last secured the luxury of hot food, china dishes, drinking glasses, plated tableware and comfortwarm, well ventilated and attravtive, the latest addition to the Chester penitentiary is a credit to the state.

Just opposite the prison stands the asylum for the criminal insane. Situated on the top of a high hill overlooking the Mississippi river the view from the administrative building and the cell house is one of remarkable beauty. The Father of Waters curves away in two great stretches of sunlit silver and the green and gold of island and mainland with farm and cottage, village and woodland combines to form one of the most beautiful vistas of the Middle West.

The criminal insane are encouraged to read and make various small articles, but none of their product is on sale. Fancy baskets of grass or reed, some of rarely beautiful design and proportions, are shown, but the work is so slow and the unfortunates incapable of sustained effort that each piece represents Care of the plant and work of weeks. exercise in the inclosed yard, checkers and similar games serve to while away the time. The institution will shortly be abandoned for a newer and modern institution. To one who merely considers the term "criminal insane" for what it seems to imply a surprising amount of liberty and consideration is allowed, but lack of exercise and inaction must be a sore infliction. With the exception of their few duties of keeping the institution clean and cooking and serving their own food (under careful supervision) no labor is performed. Any one who dreams of a life of idleness might visit this institution to their everlasting benefit.

With the advent of spring we may expect a decision regarding the new prison plant for Joliet. Conditions there are so unsatisfactory that the institution is

to be moved further into the country, a new prison built, and a general overhauling of the system inaugurated. while we are building and equipping a new prison why not build it right, conduct it right, and try at least to reform our moral delinquents? Whether crime is or is not a disease we may utilize the theory of cure while exercising the policy of correction. Several times I have written of the orchards and fields, of the stock, barns and pens, of the poultry houses, and the utilization of all the possibilities of open air work at the Southern Illinois penitentiary. A few years ago the decrepit wooden stockade there guarded a wornout plant run on the contract system, apparently for the benefit of private enterprise. With stone enough to build a wall around the state of Illinois. with millions of brick, and the resources of a considerable tract of land, we found only the effort to increase the manufacture of goods for the open market under the pernicious contract system. The land was rough and badly washed into ravines, the fillside a tangle of brush, the level stretch denuded of soil to reach the clay subsoil and when the clay was gone abandoned to a tangle of thorns and waste.

Today all this is changed. The thickets and brush have disappeared and the hillsides have become the softly rounded vineyards and orchards of the model horticulturist. 'Ine ravines are filled in, the fields fertilized, and the waste clay grounds furnish the prisoners with as fine vegetables as can be found in all our commonwealth. The uplands grow sweet potatoes, cantaloupes, beans, peas, corn, tomatoes, celery, radishes, onions, and all the product of the truck farm. The lowlands watermelons, feed for the stock, and complete the great farm garden. And the product goes to the prisoners. I know, for I have seen the prisoners fed, visited the store houses, and taken an interest in the matter. A solid stone wall is now in course of erection, the buildings are in splendid repair, macadam roads and driveways, drainage tiles of home construction, hot houses and cold frames, and, in fact, the careful and thoughtful efforts of a thoroughly competent man has removed many of the objections of the trade unionists to the employment of convicts. Of all the prisons in the United States I have visited I believe the Chester institution affords the least cause for criticism. Several lines of work compete with the open market, it is true, and until these lines are utterly eradicated we do not propose to cease our efforts, but the

relative competition is the point just at present. Stock raising and farming with poultry keeping has been the especial effort here and with further appropriation from the legislature will be largely augmented. Why should not this work be largely increased? Sending a man to prison should not mean to starve him through insufficient or improper food. A patch of ground devoted to the raising of fruit and vegetables provides healthful and profitable occupation. Paroled convicts from the farm usually show exemplary conduct and occasionally the talent developed leads to an independence rarely achieved in the cities. The degree of liberty enjoyed on the farm is not the least important factor in the regeneration of the unfortunate convict.

In my visits to the penal institutions of a number of states I find the prison officials invariably deplore the present system. Strange as it may seem, the men entrusted with the care of convicts are usually the most charitably disposed and frankly say that many men now incarcerated should not be treated as dangerous felons. Men are convicted legally, it is true, and deserve punishment, no doubt, but the force of circumstances has vastly more to do with our criminal element than criminal intention.

A visit to our insane asylums displays broader and more progressive spirit. Other nations cure a majority of mental delinquents, other states are further advanced than Illinois, yet we are making a splendid beginning. The concentrated effort is to cure. No longer are straight jackets, shackles, and bolts depended on. Today the inclosed wall and the barred window, the padded cell, and brutal repression are done away with. Self reliance, real help and educated supervision are taking their appointed places. Why not apply the same theory to the moral as to the mental delinquent? In the newer institution for Northern Illinois it would be well to buy a large tract of land and place the convict at work on it.

The present law calls for the supplying of articles for state account. If desks, then why not potatoes; if shirts, why not beans or peas, tomatoes, berries and fruits? Why should the convict be denied a varied sustenance, when the very animals on our farms or in our cities are scientifically brought to highest development? If an insane person can betrusted and given a freedom undreamed of a few years ago probably three-fourths of our convicts could be safely given an equal degree of liberty. The theory of shop work, task driven slaves of the state, should be repugnant. Punishment does not mean breaking of the spirit, does not mean the reduction of self respect to the vanishing point. The utility of prison manufacture is gravely questioned by others than trade unionists and so far as a profitable commercial enterprise is concerned I have yet to see such a plant. One eastern penitentiary claims to be a money making institution. I asked the warden, "How many of these men would be here if they worked as hard outside as they do here?" "None of them," was the answer. Yet many dogo back there. They work so hard, they are so debased, that they have only the semblance of humanity. There they have the contract system pure and simple. New York has the state account law and the industries are varied. A horde of convicts are released with smatterings of many trades. Woodworking, garment making, shoe working, metal workingevery possible line of activity is covered. Here we have only a few branches of industry and more men taught a few trades. Neither reaches the root of the evil, to my mind. Not shop work, but open air work. Not the making of the article, but the making of the man-the return of the regenerated citizen.

Let us unite in asking for the purchase of land, the stoppage entirely of manufacture for the open market, and the change from the shop trades to the employment close to mother earth.

Editor Electrical Workers' Journal, Springfield, Ill.:

DEAR SIR: Enclosed herewith find pamphlet containing list of magazines and periodicals of general circulation, published under union and non-union conditions, for the guidance of friends and supporters of "fair wages, fair hours and fair conditions," and issued by the International Typographical Union.

We will be pleased to send a copy of this pamphlet to any trade unionist or citizen who is a supporter of "fair wages, fair hours and fair conditions." The pamphlet contains a list of union and non-union publications, and it is for the supporter of "fair wages, fair hours and fair conditions" to make his choice from the classification in such manner as in his judgment will best represent his principles.

I will appreciate space in your publication for this communication. Those lesiring a copy of the pamphlet in question will please address me at 635-639 Newton-Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

With assurances of gratitude for courtesies extended, I am,

Fraternally yours,

JAMES M. LYNCH.

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CLASSIFIED DIRECTORY OF LOCAL UNIONS-Con't.

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South Dakota Lead	Utah Ogden	West Virginia Charleston256 Huntington606 Wheeling141 Wheeling142	CANADA Alberta Edmonton544 Calgary348	Quebec Montreal463 Saskatchewan Regina572 Saskatoon589 Moose Jaw568

HUSBANDS.

Wary, But are Easily Caught-Of many Varieties, Good or Bad.

Husbands are the natural product of most civilized countries. They are plentiful in most of the United States of America, being scarcest in Utah and Massachusetts, where each lady owns but a fraction of a husband, or none at all. Those owning no more than a morbid interest in a husband are called old maids.

Although the best husbands in this country are acknowledged by experts to be indigenous to the soil, those commanding the highest market prices are the imported varieties, because of their expensive labels. The crown brand brings the largest figure.

The husband is a wary and elusive animal, fleeing for safety at the first noise like a skirt to his lair in clubs, offices and other remote caves of his habitat; but he may be cajoled forth by an appearance of indifference on the part of the trapper, as his curiosity can always be aroused by the strange creature who could remain immune to his charms; after which he may be easily caught anywhere in broad daylight (though a white night-light or moon-calcium is preferable), in a trap composed of frou-frou, talcum, golden locks and flattery.

There is a tradition to the effect that

the earliest husband-catcher was a clumsy contrivance made of fine hand-sewing attached to a spinning wheel, decorated with home-made preserves put up in a syrup of sweet disposition and sealed in common-sense jars.

Once secured with a matrimonial halter tied in a diamond hitch, the husband usually becomes quite tame and will eat from the hand and sign checks at will.

There are more than 57 varieties of husbands at large and in captivity, but they are broadly classed as good and bad by their respective owners or keepers, called wives. Since the wife is so constituted that she can believe anything she sets her mind to, she can easily persuade herself that a bad husband is a good one and vice versa—a merciful provision of Providence for martial happiness.

The American husband is called by his trans-Atlantic compeers a beast of burden; to which he may very justly retort that the trans-Atlantic husband is a beast of prey, or otherwise, but always a beast, and that it's a white man's burden, anyway.

All of which proves that the highest grade husband extant has his permanent habitat in these United States of America.—Success.